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THE UNIVERSE AND THE
SUPERNATURAL.

Realwissenschaftliche Begründung der Moral, des Rechts und der Gotteslehre. Von JULIUS BAUMANN, Professor an der Universität Göttingen. (1898.)

Zur Analysis der Wirklichkeit. Eine Erörterung der Grundprobleme der Philosophie. Von OTTO LIEBMANN, Professor an der Universität Strassburg. (Second Edition. 1880.)

Die Welt als That: Umrisse einer Weltansicht auf Naturwissenschaftlicher Grundlage. Von J. REINKE, Professor der Botanik an der Universität Kiel. (Second Edition. 1901.)

Divine Immanence. By J. R. ILLINGWORTH, M.A. (Macmillan & Co. Ltd. 1894.)

Personality, Human and Divine. By J. R. ILLINGWORTH, M.A. (Macmillan & Co. Ltd. 1898.)

THE number of men of light and leading who stumble at the supernatural element in the Bible is greater now than perhaps ever before. Yet the appreciation of its ethical, religious, and literary characteristics was never higher.

Critics, both historical and scientific, vie with each other in magnifying the spiritual greatness of Hebrew poets, prophets, and writers, especially and supremely of Jesus of Nazareth; at the same time they relentlessly resolve the supernatural features of their stories into myth, or legend, or misunderstanding.

I. The Older View of the Supernatural.

The older among us were brought up to regard the supernatural and the spiritual as resembling the seamless vesture of Christ—the one element forming the warp, the other the weft. To separate was to rend and destroy; he who would keep the spiritual must needs keep the supernatural. So we all believed.

Now, however, language like the following, from men holding prominent positions as Christian teachers, is becoming so common as scarcely to excite notice, much less opposition:—‘As the idea of law still further prevails, and prevailing overpowers the mind, miracles, from being a special evidence of Christianity, become a special objection, themselves needing extraordinary testimony to establish their truth.’¹

So, too, another says: ‘It must be confessed that miracles cannot be offered as evidences of Christianity now, with the confidence with which they were employed for this purpose by the apologists of a past age. Men do not now believe in Christ because of His miracles; they rather believe in the miracles because they have first believed in Christ.’²

Still another writer speaks of the statement that ‘We believe the miracles because we believe in Christ; we do not believe in Christ because we believe the miracles,’ as an axiom which, ‘rightly understood, is true.’³

II. The Supernatural minimized.

Not a few do their best to minimize the supernatural element in the Scriptures, without denying that the cases

¹ Bishop Lightfoot. See Mead, *Supernatural Revelation*, p. 127.

² Dr. A. B. Bruce, *Apologetics*, p. 376.

³ Fairbairn, *Studies in the Life of Christ*, p. 151.

recorded are facts, by correlating them to the phenomena of hypnotism, to the Faith and Christian Science cures wrought at the present day, to wireless telegraphy, to the Röntgen rays, and other marvels of modern science; and by maintaining that our Lord's divinity was shown by His knowledge of 'occult natural forces.'

The present Dean of Westminster goes the length of saying that 'a man would be bold who should deny that all miracles may some day be seen to be only results of higher laws which are at present hidden from our imperfect knowledge.'¹

It scarcely needs remarking that this is implicitly to deny such miracles to be miracles: at all events, a man must have a curiously constituted intellect, who can go on treating events as really miraculous, after having come to the conclusion that more perfect knowledge *may* show them to be natural.

III. *The Supernaturalization of the Natural.*

Whilst some in this way try to surmount the difficulty by resolving the supernatural, avowedly or hypothetically, into the natural, others go to the opposite extreme of resolving many things into the supernatural which have hitherto been considered simply natural.

This is how one popular religious writer puts the case: 'It is not the supernatural we object to,' says he, 'not the miraculous, but these intermittent, spasmodic, irrational forms of it. We recognize the supernatural. In fact the world and human history are full of it. Miracles are constantly being wrought.'

'Evolution leaves always a bigger supernatural behind it than the view it has supplanted. Observe its results in biblical criticism. Applied to the Old Testament literature it takes away the visible pillar of cloud before the Israelites and the voice from Sinai which thundered their law. It tears out a hundred miracles; but when it has finished, what

¹ J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., 'Some Thoughts on the Incarnation,' quoted in the *Hibbert Journal*, April 1904, p. 593.

has it left? A bigger miracle than ever. We have now the story of a number of Hebrew tribes successively invading and settling in Palestine, bringing with them the cult of Yahweh, a peculiarly savage tribal deity; and then the story of the race under these conditions developing a religious consciousness, which reaches the sublime ideas of God and duty of a Micah and an Isaiah, and which culminates in the teachings of Christ.'

'But we need not betake ourselves to past history. The man in the street is full of the supernatural; when he talks to his neighbour he is working miracles.'

'It is from the sense we have of the miraculous in common life that we are able to believe in a special element of the miraculous in Christianity.'

To me this reasoning seems fearful and wonderful, passing all comprehension. To mention one point only: Fancy the man in the street being said to work miracles when he talks to his neighbour, possibly gossip, possibly scandal, possibly worse—miracles, moreover, which help us to believe in a special element of the miraculous in Christ!

IV. Reasons for this Attitude.

How is this attitude of mind to be accounted for? Is the world really, demonstrably, so constituted that the miracles recorded in the Bible are either intrinsically irrational, that is, impossible, or, at all events, so improbable and difficult of belief, that they rather impede than further faith? Have the sciences established what they claim to have done with regard to this matter? Is the relation of God to the world such that He cannot intervene in its course in ways that are called supernatural?

The position is unassailable, that a change, whether or not styled violation of the laws of nature, is impossible, in the sense that natural forces or beings act or work in ways for which they are not adapted. Every force, from that of gravitation or cohesion up through the whole hierarchy of forces, has its own specific work to do, and its own way of doing it. It can neither do the work of another force or

being, nor can it do its own work in any other way than the way prescribed by its nature and constitution.

It is quite possible, however, that forces or beings may, under certain new conditions, work a different work, and in a different way, from their usual one, and thus seem to have undergone a change of power or law. This is especially the case in the domain of life. But it will be found that the new capabilities and laws were in reality latent in them from the beginning, though their presence was not suspected, and that they only needed to be evoked by the action of a new environment.

Such occurrences are often described as miracles, particularly when they are very remarkable; but it is a mistaken use of the term.

God Himself—be it said with all reverence—could not cause a force or being to work in a way, and for a result, contrary to its nature. In this respect He has put Himself in essence on a level with His image—man. No man ever did or ever will be able to use a force or object of nature to work out of harmony with its own law. Nor can God do so. As to this matter His omnipotence is limited—limited because He Himself gave existence to beings which would have had no reality of their own without such self-limitation.

But it is one thing for a natural force to be used contrary to its natural law; another for it to be used according to its natural law, under conditions and in combinations which it itself could never have chosen. We men are constantly doing this very thing. The arts of civilization are largely, nay, indeed, almost entirely, based upon and the outcome of this very thing.

When electricity is employed to drive a car no violence is done to natural law; but the force is compelled to do what it would never do of itself, because we subject it to conditions, and bring it into combinations, which we ourselves select and contrive, *according to the degree of our knowledge, strength, and skill*. In essence, God can do no more. But inasmuch as there is relatively no limit to His knowledge and power, and if I may say so, His skill,

He can, of course, use the forces and beings of the world in ways incalculably transcending those possible to men. But let it be repeated, these ways conform to their nature and law, and no miraculous work ever performed by Him can therefore be defined as performed in violation of the laws of nature.

By way of further illustration and application, take the greatest kind of miracle recorded in the New Testament, next to that which Christ may be said to have performed on Himself, namely, the raising of Lazarus. If Lazarus were represented as coming forth dead, or as having raised himself, there would have been a violation of law, for he would have done what is impossible for a man to do. But if Christ, wielding, as He did, divine skill and power, checked the process of dissolution, caused the lungs to breathe by introducing air, and then set the other organs to work, did He violate any law? It may be said, indeed, it is a law that all men shall die, and that a man whose life is really extinct shall not recover it; and that no man can resuscitate one who is really dead. The answer is, Yes, that is the law. But it is not said that a *man* resuscitated a dead man by his own strength and skill. The point may be further illustrated as follows. It is a law that a man nearly drowned shall and does drown unless a skilled person intervene, and, by the application of artificial respiration, stimulate the action of the lungs, and thus resuscitate life. Apart from such intervention many a one would infallibly have died. But it will be replied, 'The helper is in this case a man; and men are powers belonging to the earth; they are resident forces.' Certainly; but the resident force steps in to put a stop to the action of other forces. The force in the helper suspends the action of the water by causing it to leave the lungs, and instead substitutes air which causes the lungs to act again. Yet no law is violated. If the half-drowned man were restored without extracting the water and inflating the lungs, it would be contrary to the constitution of his system. And, as may be added, if a man who could help did not help, he would be violating another and higher law, which he fulfils in that he renders help.

Objections to miracles at the present day often form something like a tangled skein of threads, of varying material and strength. In the process of unravelling, one seizes hold first on one thread, then on another, but finds each so closely intertwined with a third or fourth that at last the only resource seems to be to unloose them by cutting.

But there can be no cutting of the threads of this mental skein. The web of reasons against miracles by which the modern mind is influenced, is infinitely more difficult to unravel; for the threads are thoughts, and whilst one is kept for inspection, the rest may disappear below consciousness, and efforts to recall any of them to light involve the disappearance of the first. We find ourselves, moreover, often swayed or at all events influenced by feelings—affections or emotions—which cannot be put into thoughts and words, and which yet in some subtle unobserved manner add weight or attractiveness to the something that can be formulated or clearly observed.

One of the chief causes, if not the chief cause, of the attitude under consideration, or, otherwise expressed, of 'The Conflict between Science and Faith,' has recently been described as follows by Sir Oliver Lodge:—

'A great many of the scientific men of the last quarter of a century have been dominated more or less consciously by the idea of the world as a *self-contained, self-evolved, and self-sufficient system*. They have treated the world too much like a piece of mechanism, perfect, self-originating, and self-complete.' 'The preachers of evolution,' he adds, 'tell us that so it is, that it is a self-controlled mechanism, and that it is not subject to guidance or liable to control.'¹

The writer of these words, for himself, enters a protest against this conception of the world. But whether Sir Oliver Lodge and the scientific men whom he claims to represent, whilst revolting against the idea of the universe as a self-contained whole, are finding their way to a truer view, one that is not only consistent with the facts of natural science,

¹ See the *Hibbert Journal* and *The Commonwealth*, August 1903. Italics are mine.

but also leaves room for the full, *unclipped* faith of the Scriptures and the Christian Church, is another question.

To judge by the language employed in another connexion, he seems to me to fall out of the frying-pan into the fire, for he exchanges the idea of a universe which is complete without God, for that of a universe which includes God—with which God is essentially one. These are his words: 'Men are now beginning to realize that they are a part of nature, and so a part of God; that the whole creation—the One and the Many and All-one—is travelling together towards some great end; and that now, after ages of development, we have at length become conscious portions of the great scheme, and can co-operate in it with knowledge and with joy. We are no aliens in a stranger universe governed by an outside God; we are part of a developing whole, all enfolded in an embracing and interpenetrating love, of which we too, each to other, sometimes experience the joy too deep for words.'¹

Whether we conceive the world to be without God, or God and the world to be mutually inclusive; whether, in other words, our view of it be the so-called monistic one of a Haeckel or that of a real or quasi-pantheism, makes no difference, as far as the supernatural is concerned. In the one case, there is nothing but nature, and nature cannot transcend itself. In the other case, there is in the last instance no worker but God; and everything is supernatural—supernatural in the old-fashioned biblical sense of a work done directly by God; that is, so far as what God works directly is *ipso facto* to be regarded as supernatural. But there can be no miracles. All that is natural is supernatural; and all that is supernatural is natural.

V. *Fundamental Features of the Biblical Conception of the Universe.*

Summarily stated they are as follows:—

First of all, the matter of the world, that which is called and treated as matter, is absolutely of divine *origination*.

¹ Sir Oliver Lodge, *Hibbert Journal*, April 1904, p. 475.

The nature of matter regarded in itself need not here and now be discussed. Science at the present moment is as puzzled as ever with regard to its true essence; and in view of the variety of hypotheses that have been and still are advanced by scientific experts, it will be pretty obvious that no one has an exclusive right to lay down the law; nay more, that even a non-expert may venture to have his say.

Apart from the creative or originaive, as distinguished from the formative or moulding action of God, nothing answering to matter, as given in human experience, would ever have had existence.

Secondly, the various forces which are conceived as acting through and on matter, and by which the universe, or, at all events, the earth is being evolved, are different forms of one energy or power that is being put forth perennially and continuously by God. To use a more scientific expression, they are self-variations or self-differentiations of divine power. All of them are this—nothing more, nothing less—from the force we term gravitation at the bottom, to the force which we term self-conscious will at the top. And no cosmic force throughout the entire hierarchy, from the bottom to the top, is ever found dissociated from or acting independently of matter in some form or other. So that one can speak of it in terms either of matter or of force.

Thirdly, every force or power is subject to its own distinctive law or laws; and every combination or system of forces has a specific combination or system of laws peculiar to itself. A worm is a system of forces, and is subject to a system of laws; and man, not less than a worm, is a system of forces subject to a system of laws. This system of laws in the case of living beings may be termed the idea of the particular being in question.

Now all these laws are laws of God, laws interwoven by Him with the various forces as they differentiate themselves during the process of evolution. These laws and systems of law are elements of the great plan or idea of the universe which He is realizing.¹

¹ See Liebmann, *Analysis der Wirklichkeit*, 2nd edition, p. 404.

As is plainly involved in what has been advanced, God may be described not merely as the originator of the universe, but as the *principle* of its evolution—principle, both in the causative and regulative sense. In other words, as theologians used almost without exception to put it, He is the creator, the sustainer (or upholder, or upkeeper), and the ruler of the world.

When they spoke of *creator*, they did not mean that He produced a work that was once and for all finished and complete, and then, as a human maker says, 'out of hand'; but referred to continuous productive action. Nor when they spoke of sustaining or upholding, did they mean sustaining or upholding from without, but an activity which involved the continuous communication of energy in modes, measures, and kinds, varying according to the stage of development reached by it.

So, too, the term *ruler* meant, not by any means a regulating from the outside, but the direction of its course from within, by means of immanent laws, in accordance with a preconceived plan, and towards a preconceived goal.

What has thus been summarily stated is without doubt the corner-stone of the Christian system; or to change the figure, it is the tap-root of the Christian tree of knowledge.

The only other alternatives, namely, God and eternally self-existent matter, or God and the universe eternally one; or the universe without God, are incompatible with the Christian faith as found in Scripture and held by the Church.

VI. *The General Constitution and Inter-relationships of the Universe.*

The constitution of the universe, whose origination and ultimate factors have thus been briefly indicated, will be found to lend no countenance to the notion that it is self-contained, unless its mere vastness may be said to do so.¹

¹ See an article on 'The Tyranny of Material Vastness' in *The Week's Survey*, April 29, 1905; and *The Crown of Science*, by Morris Stewart, M.A. (Melrose, London, 1903.)

Wherever man searches he finds evidences of inter-dependence and inter-independence, which point not only towards the possibility of that direct special divine action, which is commonly termed supernatural, but also towards its necessity, that is, its moral necessity under certain contingencies.

The earth, of which men form a part, is a sub-system of the great cosmic system or universe, which has been, and is being, at every moment gradually built up by forces acting in matter and through matter on each other, according to certain prescribed immanent laws.

To these forces has been given the appropriate name 'resident forces,' i.e. forces which belong in the strictest sense to this particular sub-system. They are mundane forces. The laws also by which their action is regulated are resident or mundane laws; in fact, being immanent in the forces, they share this character with the forces.

Men form no exception. They belong to the mundane system as truly as chemical or vital forces and bodies. The force which constitutes and builds up a man, is as really a variation or differentiation of the energy which is building up the earth, as that which constitutes and builds up an oak-tree or a horse.

Some of the ways in which man or the man-force work differ from the ways in which the various other forces work—and some of the effects which its work produces differ widely from the effects produced by other forces—differ more widely than any one of the other forces, or their work or effects differ from the rest. But they, i.e. men, are none the less resident forces of the mundane system, the laws prescribed to them are laws of the mundane system, and what they work is natural. Thinking, loving, speaking, not less than moving the arm or hand or legs, or using the various senses, are as truly activities of resident forces as the activities of a potato-plant or a fish or a bird.

Any movement or change or effect produced by these resident forces working according to their prescribed laws, it is the custom to term *natural*. The whole series or complex

of changes which arise within the earth-system is called the course of nature.

Inasmuch as man is one of the earth's resident forces, his normal doings, therefore, are as natural in this sense as what is done by the wind or lightning or gravitation. To speak of his action in varying the face of nature, in altering relations between certain forces, or in suspending their action in certain directions, as if it were supernatural, or even miraculous,¹ is as inaccurate as it would be to employ the same terms of the vital force, because it controls and subordinates to its own purposes the chemical or mechanical forces.

VII. *The Earth and the Solar System.*

If this earth were an absolutely self-contained, self-sustained system, complete in itself and independent, then any action on it from without—any whatever—might be regarded, nay more, ought to be described as, interference, that is, as supernatural, whatever the nature or place of the part or factor of the system affected. The action, for example, of the light or heat of the sun would be strictly supernatural; still more, such an event, had it taken place, as the transference to it of the primal vital germ from some other planet or star, by any means whatever, whether by a meteorite or any other vehicle.

But, as scarcely needs to be remarked, no one dreams of applying to these occurrences or effects any such term. Why not? Because the earth is not an absolutely independent system; because, on the contrary, it is only part of a larger system—the solar system, as it is termed; and because the action of the other members of the system, particularly that of the sun through its light and heat, is as necessary to the earth as is the rain which, after being drawn by one set of forces up into the sky, falls by the action of another force on our fields, and enables them to bear fruit which otherwise would be impossible.

For the convenience of scientific inquiry the earth is

¹ As the writer previously quoted does, thus following the example set in some of the weakest so-called orthodox apologetical treatises.

treated as a distinct system, just as various parts of the earth are similarly treated. In reality, however, as everybody now recognizes, it is as much a part of a larger whole as its own fauna and flora are parts of itself. In this larger whole the sun's light and heat are 'resident' forces; their action therefore is, in the sense previously defined, perfectly natural.

It may be supposed, indeed, that the forces just referred to are treated as if they were 'resident' forces of the earth, and their actions as natural, because they work with unvarying regularity, and because their course and results can be exactly calculated.

As a matter of fact, however, so far as the light and heat of the sun are concerned, this is not the case.

But still further. Every year at a certain time showers of meteorites or shooting stars are seen in the sky, and they probably land on the earth and produce some effect or other there, though ordinarily too slight for notice.

Occasionally, however, a meteorite of great mass and weight falls. Suppose now that one of these should fall on some great cathedral or church or hall crowded with men and women, and were to cause, as it probably would, a great loss of life, perhaps too of property, what should we say? Would it be necessary to describe the event and effects as supernatural? They are not the work of forces 'resident,' in the narrower sense, on the earth; they need never, probably never will, occur again. Men in former ages would have treated them as supernatural: why not now? Just because meteorites are regarded as bodies belonging in some sense to the solar system, and because their fall being brought about by 'resident' forces, it is counted a perfectly natural occurrence. No exact prediction of them has yet been possible; no one can pretend to have the key to their presence, just as and when they appear; yet nowadays no one dreams of pronouncing them supernatural, or even specially mysterious objects.

VIII. *The Solar System is not self-contained.*

It is not necessary, nay more, it is not possible, to con-

fine attention to the solar system. It is not self-contained and independent, any more than the earth-system with its moon is self-sufficient. There can be no doubt that it is constantly being acted upon by stars and systems of stars, pursuing their majestic course millions or billions of miles beyond the outermost limits of the orbits of its remotest planets. As to the precise nature, quantity, and modes of their influence, the wisest of men is in ignorance.

If comets take their rise in the vast region beyond the orbit of the farthest planet of the solar system, and if the eccentricity of their movements bring some of them near enough to be 'captured' by the solar system, as some astronomers think and say, then they furnish a visible proof of the reality of the action under consideration.

Are comets still to be looked upon with the awe felt by our ancestors as supernatural visitants? No enlightened man takes this view of them nowadays. Why not? Simply, the answer must again run, because the solar system which they visit, and the immeasurable region beyond, from which they come, and in which they are supposed to be ordinarily 'resident,' constitute one great physical system, namely, the universe.

It was the irregularity and the apparent uncertainty of their visits, as well as the general eccentricity of their movements, that gave rise to the notion of their being supernatural. But now, though no explanation can be given thereof, they and their movements are treated as belonging to the course of nature.

Still further, were one or another of the stars outside our solar system suddenly to forsake its orbit and sweep through the heavens, colliding in its course with star after star, and planet after planet, causing everywhere devastation or disintegration, would the event be treated as miraculous or supernatural in the ordinary sense of these terms? Certainly not. And why not? Precisely for the reason assigned in previous cases, namely, the belief that all the heavenly bodies, small and great, near and far off, constitute parts of one vast whole, which is termed the universe.

There is in fact no physical force or body, of any kind or size whatever, resident in the entire universe, which, scientifically or philosophically regarded, can produce effects correctly described as violations of natural law.

A catastrophe such as was just now imagined, inconceivably vast, absolutely unexpected, and at present utterly inexplicable, as it might be, would be assumed to be quite as natural as an eclipse of the moon, an earthquake, or a volcanic eruption, because in both cases the forces at work belong to the same great system, that is, are 'resident' in it.

IX. The World of Invisible Intelligences.

But still further. Suppose that the spaces between the planets of the solar system, or even those between the stars beyond, which are commonly regarded as for the most part empty, because there is nothing in them that human eye can detect, not even when aided by the most wonderful of telescopic or other appliances; suppose that these spaces were more or less thickly strewed with worlds too refined and subtle to be appreciable by any human sense whatever, bodies, say, of a nature resembling ether; suppose, further, that they are peopled by intelligences, clothed in bodies constituted by this or other subtle matter; suppose these intelligences, further, capable of visiting, observing, and, under certain conditions, acting in certain limited ways on the earth, would it be necessary to characterize such action as miraculous, in the sense of a violation of natural law? By no means, for unless they and their abode are outside the universe, they are as truly, in the broader sense, 'resident' as the other forces and bodies to which reference has been made. The circumstance of their being clothed in bodies different in substance, perhaps also in form, from the human, gives no right to speak of them and the effects they produce as supernatural.

They themselves and their modes of operation may be quite concealed from ordinary human observation. We may be incapable of calculating their movements or of subjecting them to experiment; and yet, as in the larger sense, they

belong not less truly to one and the same system than the forces which work in the earth, they may as truly be designated 'resident' as other forces whose presence and action are suspected, though up to the present moment they cannot be scientifically certified ; their action, therefore, forms part of the course of nature in the larger and broader sense.

X. The Position reached.

The position now reached is this: First, that the earth is not a self-contained system which runs itself, so to speak, independently of the co-operation of forces that in the narrow sense are non-resident. Secondly, that what holds good of the earth holds good of the solar system of which the earth is a member. It too receives, and therefore needs, the co-operation of forces that in the narrow sense are non-resident. Thirdly, that there may be planets and stars strewed in the apparently empty spaces of the universe which, because of the subtle nature of the matter that constitutes them, are absolutely inaccessible to human sense, and which yet in mysterious ways influence the earth and other heavenly bodies. In other words, forces resident in them, which belong to the class called spiritual, co-operate in worlds to which, in the narrow sense, they do not belong. These forces and their co-operation might be called hyperphysical or spiritual—physical (like Paul's 'spiritual' or pneumatic body), but they are not supernatural, because they and the so-called physical world form together the one system of the universe.

The question then arises, Does this universe, with its visible and invisible interdependent bodies, run itself? Is it self-contained, self-sufficient, independent? the one great whole, besides which nothing else exists?

Or is there another system that transcends the universe, and is as distinct from it as the various systems which constitute the universe are distinct from each other, though it is also closely related to all these systems and their members just as they are related to each other?

The Universe and the Supernatural

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XI. *The System of the Divine Pleroma.*

According to the view of things lying behind Scripture, which, though never formulated, is in innumerable ways more or less distinctly hinted at, and adumbrated, there is such a power, such a system of forces, or as Paul terms it,¹ a *πλήρωμα*, namely, the Christian God.

Neither the universe is a whole, i.e. an absolutely self-contained whole; nor, be it reverently said, is God Himself now an absolutely self-contained, independent whole. *God and the universe taken together constitute the real, ultimate whole, outside of and transcending which there is absolutely nothing else.* This whole may be designated the *theo-cosmos*.

The eternal divine *Pleroma*, God—for the Christian God is not the absolutely simple, undefinable essence of the old theology, but rather the absolutely personal 'fullness' of potencies and powers—is not merely the originator of the universe, but the self-conscious and free source, and supreme controller, of the powers by which, and the laws according to which, the universe is being evolved.

He is spoken of as the Sun; and as the sun's light and heat are necessary to the orderly evolution of the earth, so are the forces that proceed from God necessary to the orderly evolution of the universe, that too not only of the whole as a whole, but of every part; especially of the part or parts which, being personal, bear in an especial measure the image of God, the absolutely personal One.

There is too strong a disposition to think of God, however, as thus related somehow only to the whole as a whole. The vast universe in its entirety seems a worthy object of the divine interest, care, influence, and action; but the fact is overlooked that if God is to act on the world He must act on it at definite points, in definite ways. God, if I may venture to speak still more boldly, has no need of our generalizations and sum-totals; for Him the whole and the parts are inseparable, both in reality and in thought.

¹ Eph. iii., e.g., That ye may be filled unto all the fullness, τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ; see Col. i. 19, 'for πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα, pleased in Him (the Son) to dwell.'

It is too often forgotten also that, in a very true sense, every part, even the minutest, is a centre from which influences radiate throughout the whole system, affecting even God Himself. Physicists hold that every particle of matter in the universe attracts every other particle, according to the law formulated by Newton. Incredible as it may seem, this principle being true, it is also absolutely true that if any man change his position but by the length of his own body, he shifts the centre of gravity of the whole earth and proportionately affects not only the solar system, but also the whole universe at once. *There are as many centres, in fact, as there are atoms, and every centre is linked on to the Divine Pleroma.*

Must not God then be, in the broader sense, a resident force of the earth, as well as of the universe? Or, as it may be otherwise expressed, are not any powers which He may wield on the earth in the most exact sense 'resident' powers? Whether these powers or forces be regularly and constantly put forth, and produce effects of an ordinary kind, or whether both forces and effects be of an extraordinary kind and put forth intermittently, makes no matter.¹

It is needless to disclaim the idea that He is resident relatively even to the whole universe in the pantheistic sense—in the sense that His life is lived entirely in and through the universe; still less is one with that of the universe. Vast, unspeakably vast as is the universe, and incalculably complicated and rich as is its life, that of God infinitely transcends it. God is absolute: nay more, His life is absolutely *personal* life; it is, furthermore, infinitely far from being exhausted by the universe. This needs to be realized far more than is ordinarily the case. It is not only the isles that He taketh up as a little thing, but the boundless hosts of planets and stars that people the celestial vast. Yet, strange to say, men who are of yesterday, and are crushed before the moth, are so constituted that they could not count God God were He not so infinitely transcendent, were He not the absolutely personal Pleroma.

¹ Unless the traditional notion of unchangeableness be held as fast as it is by many of the accepted leaders of the thought of the day.

XII. *Conclusions that follow.*

If these things are true, divine action in any part of the universe can never be regarded as intrinsically and necessarily a disturbance, a violation of its constitution and laws. If the sun and other members of the solar system may act on and in the earth, according to their and its laws; if the solar system and the systems beyond may interact—and comets act on all systems according to their several laws; if, supposing them to exist, invisible personal and non-personal beings may act on the systems just named without violating either constitution or laws: may not the absolutely personal Originator and Ruler of all these systems and beings also act on and in them as an absolutely powerful and wise personal being might see fit to work, especially if on any one of the worlds which He is evolving, beings have arisen which are endowed with personality; and if in the use of the self-conscious freedom which is the very essence of their personality, they so behave as that special self-manifestations and interventions by their Father are a necessary condition of their rescue from moral ruin and eternal death?

If, under such circumstances, God choose to work directly in exceptional ways or to endow other beings with power to work miracles, will such works be violations of law? What law will be violated?

The further objection is raised, indeed, that it would violate the law which He has imposed on Himself. He has bound Himself, we are told, never to work in nature otherwise than according to that which we commonly call the course of nature. He is pledged never to do what the ordinary resident forces of the world cannot do, come what may.¹

But when evidence is demanded it is not forthcoming; or else it is simply pleaded that natural forces are constantly working in ways which men deprecate and dread and pray against without result. Reason enough for not expecting God to intervene whenever men desire or are in peril; but surely not reason enough for throwing doubt on the supernatural, as found in the life of our Lord Jesus Christ and that of His apostles.

¹ So Martineau, *Hours of Thought*. See Sermon on Prayer.

Taking now for granted that among the races of beings which the earth has evolved there is one that needs, in a mode and degree peculiar to itself, the action of its divine environment; assuming it to be so constituted of matter as well as the force which we call spiritual, that all communications to it must be by means of vehicles that are material; assuming, further, that before accepting that which even God could give or communicate, this creature needed to be made *aware* that God was seeking to bestow His grace; and assuming, finally, that as the result of the darkening effect of sin, the earth, with all its variety of event and change, which ought constantly to have been telling of its Maker and revealing His mind, has ceased to discharge its true functions: how shall God act in order that it may once more become the ladder of Jacob's dream?

What would an earthly father do for his children under analogous circumstances? Would he not, like the father of the prodigal son, run to meet them? would he not, if necessary, send servants on before him to bring them things that would be signs of his love? if the foolish and wilful children were lame and ill, would he not be ready to use any sign or work any work that could facilitate their recovery and the establishment of true relations? Would he let everything take a sort of regular course? Or would he be satisfied with anything less than the most out-of-the-way contrivance if only the end could be attained?

The answer and analogy are plain. What the one father would do *at his level*, within his limits, God has done *at His level* and, if it may be so said, within His limits. As we watch the one father, we say, 'What would he not do? what sacrifice would he not make? If he could work the greatest and most marvellous of works, would he not cheerfully do it to save his son?'

And with regard to God, are we not justified in asking, 'What would it profit Him if He rigidly preserved the mechanical order of a whole world or any other of its physical laws, and thereby endangered the loss of a single soul? Or what could the Heavenly Father of this human race fail to do in exchange for a single soul?'

D. W. SIMON.

ROSSETTI AND HIS CIRCLE.

Dante Gabriel Rossetti: A Record and a Study. By WILLIAM SHARP. (Macmillan & Co., 1882.)

Rossetti. ('English Men of Letters.') By ARTHUR C. BENSON. (Macmillan & Co., 1904.)

Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer. Edited by WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI. (Cassell & Co., 1889.)

Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham, 1854 to 1870. Edited by GEORGE BIRKBECK HILL, D.C.L., LL.D. (Fisher Unwin, 1897.)

The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood: A Fight for Art. By WILLIAM HOLMAN HUNT. (The Contemporary Review for April, May, and June, 1886.)

Life and Letters of Sir John Everett Millais. By his Son, JOHN GUILLE MILLAIS. (Methuen & Co., 1899.)

The Life of William Morris. By J. W. MACKAIL. (Longmans, Green, & Co., 1899.)

Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones. By G. B.-J. (Macmillan & Co., 1904.)

Theodore Watts-Dunton, Poet, Novelist, Critic. By JAMES DOUGLAS. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1904.)

THE recent publication of two books has brought within measurable distance of such completeness as in the nature of the case is possible, our knowledge of the works and lives of the Pre-Raphaelite school and of those who were their immediate associates and disciples. These books are, the volume on Theodore Watts-Dunton by Mr. James Douglas, and the biography of Sir Edward Burne-Jones written with such admirable taste and perfect sympathy by Lady Burne-Jones. It now becomes possible to form some

definite judgement with regard to the significance and value of that great outburst of literary and artistic life in which Dante Gabriel Rossetti was the central figure.

Of all the intellectual workers of the nineteenth century, the artists and poets of whom we write appear to have been the least fascinated by the domineering science of the day. Holman Hunt, indeed, in his early youth read much science in an unsystematic manner, finding geology and astronomy, as he says, 'full of poetic suggestions.' But Rossetti despised scientific inquiry. 'What could it matter,' he said, 'whether the earth moved round the sun, or the sun travelled about the earth?' (Although, by-the-by, there is a quite exquisite system of astronomy in 'The Blessed Damozel'!) And so, though they lived through the era of the most thrilling of the discoveries of the nineteenth century, they took little or no interest in the epoch-making work of Darwin, Lyell, Huxley, Tyndall. The theories and discoveries which startled the world of thought, raised the alarm of the religious world, and thrilled with enthusiasm all the devotees of science, left them unmoved. Yet Ruskin was perfectly right in saying that their work could not have been done in any other era; for the principle and the impulse of it proceeded from the same source as that which gave birth to the scientific discoveries. That principle was veracity, the thoroughgoing intellectual honesty which was the great outstanding virtue of the middle of the century. And so says Ruskin, in *The Art of England*:

'Truth is the vital power of the entire school, Truth its armour, Truth its war-word; and the grotesque and wild forms of imagination which, at first sight, seem to be the reaction of a desperate fancy, and a terrified faith, against the incisive scepticism of recent science, so far from being so, are a part of that science itself: they are the result of infinitely more accurate scholarship, of infinitely more detective examination, of infinitely more just and scrupulous integrity of thought, than was possible to any artist during the two preceding centuries.'

It is surely pleasant to think that there has never been any real quarrel between the different orders of workers; and that the same impulse which caused Darwin to spend long years of painful watching over the development of minute forms of vegetable and animal existence, caused Holman Hunt to work night after night in the chill air, that he might catch the play of moonlight on the ivy leaves; and that the same mighty inspiration which wrought in Lyell and Darwin, to the patient unravelling of the history of the earth and the forms of life upon it, led Rossetti and Madox Brown, Burne-Jones and William Morris, to devote themselves with extraordinary enthusiasm to the illustration of the Arthurian Cycle and the myths and legends of the Norsemen. For here also is Truth—truth of the soul-life of man and its strange eventful history upon this earth!

The Pre-Raphaelites are, of course, the Romanticists of English art. They carry on the movement which may be traced from the Percy ballads and the poetry of Chatterton, from Burns and Blake and Cowper, to Scott and Byron, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats, and Shelley. The same vast wave of influence produced the Gothic revival in architecture and the Anglo-Catholic revival in religion. There had in truth been a shaking of the nations; for Germany and France also had their movements, literary, artistic, ecclesiastical, going back upon the vigorous life of mediaeval ages. The Pre-Raphaelites were even late-comers; for their little revolution was only making its modest beginnings in the climacteric year of 1848. Their reception was very similar to that of most of their forerunners. The first words of Jeffrey's review of the 'Excursion,' 'This will never do,' were echoed a thousand times by the so-called art-critics of the press, when Rossetti, Hunt, and Millais first began to exhibit their paintings. Many a 'shrill artificial voice,' as Walter Bagehot calls that of the famous Edinburgh Reviewer, delivered its judgement against the daring young artists who had ventured on the return to Nature. They suffered doubtless, and profited by their sufferings, the story of which may be read in the biographical records mentioned at the

head of this article, and *seen* in the masterpiece of Ford Madox Brown, who, though not nominally a Pre-Raphaelite, was ever with the Brotherhood in spirit. 'Emigrants leaving England' is the picture to which I refer; and in it the artist has given pathetic expression to his sorrow and disappointment that his own earnest work—and incidentally that of his friends—should have been received with such scant courtesy. Yet it is ever so; and what Ruskin says in his sympathy with the Pre-Raphaelites, and in his scathing and trenchant fashion, is as true of other countries as of his own:

'It is reserved to England to insult the strength of her noblest children—to wither their enthusiasm early into the bitterness of patient battle, and leave to those whom she should have cherished and aided no hope but in revolution, no refuge but in disdain.'

Their work, however, was certain at last to meet its due meed of appreciation; for was it not, like the work of the original Pre-Raphaelites, 'eternally and unalterably true'? Yet they did not so much paint Nature as the nature that was in them. The son and biographer of Millais has well said of the leader of the school: 'The peculiar bent of his genius taught him not to go to Nature for his inspiration, but to follow rather the flights of his own fancy.' And he had high justification; for, says Bacon, in the *Advancement of Learning*:

'The world being inferior to the soul, by reason whereof, there is agreeable to the spirit of man a more ample greatness, a more exact goodness, and a more absolute variety than can be found in the nature of things.'

These words might be taken as the expression of the great underlying principle of the Romanticisms of all time; for every revolt against convention, every fruitful new departure in art or letters, springs out of the same spirit. It is the spirit which cannot rest in tradition, however venerable, the spirit to which nothing is true that is not felt in the imagination and the soul. The Pre-Raphaelites began with devotion to the real. They painted, as in

Holman Hunt's 'Shadow of the Cross,' the very colour of the sunlight; they studied their backgrounds with elaborate care; they drew their figures with the most exact finish, and showing the light all about them; but they soon found that there was no such thing as realism in art. That which most nearly approaches it strikes you as mean and even repulsive—as being, that is, not true art at all. Pre-Raphaelitism, therefore, is not realism, but simplicity and sincerity. In this it resembles all other truly great schools, whether in art or in other forms of human effort. There is a sense in which the eighteenth-century portrait-painters were Romanticists, notwithstanding their adherence to the conventions of classicism: they painted the larger life, the ideal, the permanent, in the character of their sitters. Watts himself, as a portrait-painter, was no more romantic and symbolical, with his avowed purpose to paint the soul of his subject, than Romney and Gainsborough were in their way. And it must be remembered that all the Classics were once Romantics, Plato and Aeschylus not less than Dante and Chaucer; and that all schools tend to establish traditions, to forge fetters for the free spirit of man, to become in turn the idols of the artificial, the untrue, to fall into the hands of the servitors of the letter rather than into those of the prophets of the spiritual worship of the True, the Good, the Beautiful.

A circle of Romanticists could hardly have had a more appropriate central figure than Rossetti. The head domed and lofty, with an almost perfectly shaped forehead, the strongly marked indentation between the eyes—'the bar of Michael Angelo'—the sensitive nostrils, the mouth with its large, loose lips partially hidden by a thin moustache, are all discernible in any portrait. But the great portrait by G. F. Watts, which is beautifully reproduced in the frontispiece to the *Allingham Letters*, gives us more: the air of thought, the touch of mystery and inspiration, the sombre spirit, the brooding imagination. Mr. Watts-Dunton tells us, in one of the letters appearing in the volume of Mr. Douglas, that he has never affirmed that the D'Arcy of *Aylwin* was to be taken as an actual portrait of Rossetti. Nevertheless, in the

description of her artist friend given by Winnie to Henry, we have what may well be regarded as supplying elements in the portrait which even the art of Watts was powerless to deal with—the deep, rich, sonorous voice and the magic influence of the eyes:

‘The eyes, which looked at me through spectacles, were of a colour between hazel and blue-grey, but there were lights shining within them which were neither grey, nor hazel, nor blue—wonderful lights. And it was to these indescribable lights, moving and alive in the depths of the pupils, that his face owed its extraordinary attractiveness.’

The general impression made by the character of D’Arcy is true to the actual Rossetti. His love of strange animals, of sombre magnificence in his surroundings, his kindliness and whimsicality, his assured mastery not only over the materials of his art, but over the minds of his associates—all are there. The sadder features of the lonely genius, which made the actual life of Rossetti one of the tragedies of literary and artistic history, naturally have no place in the work of fiction; but the strange magic of him who was the directing genie of the story of Winnie was present and active also in the real history. Burne-Jones, who is a witness to this magic, and never ceased to honour the hero of his young enthusiasm, very late in life made notes of the impression made upon him by ‘our glorious Gabriel’:

‘It is nice to be remembering it all, and it is good for me just now, only the most of it is so indescribable. His talk and his look and his kindness, what words can say them? But bit by bit little forgotten touches will come back I daresay, and some sort of image of him be made out—and if it is a perfect image and all overlaid with gold, it will be truer really than one that should make him halt or begrimed or sully him in the least.’

Imagine how this strange being conceived the history of the world! The long list of his poems and pictures is a sort of *résumé* of the dream-life of the race. From the ‘Lady

Lilith' and 'Pandora,' from the 'Sybilla Palmifera,' to 'The Girlhood of Mary Virgin'; from 'Lancelot at the Shrine of the Sanc Greal' to 'Giotto Painting Dante's Portrait'; from the 'Francesca da Rimini' and 'Lucrezia Borgia' to 'La Belle Dame Sans Mercy' and the illustration of Browning; from weird scenes of mediaeval magic and mystery to 'Jenny' of the London streets and the winged bull of Nineveh in the British Museum, he carries us in his pictures and poems, ever with wonder, never without some new realization of the deeper meanings of life. For wherever there was opportunity for the illustration of sombre fates and beautiful imaginings, there he sought his subjects, in legends of the Talmud, in Bible stories, in classical myths and mediaeval romances, in Italian art and poetry, and in the poetry of our own country. It is useless, however, to attempt the arrangement of hundreds of works in the two great arts he practised according to any system of historical study; but, regarding them in their totality, and the man himself as he stands revealed in the many biographical and critical books which have been published concerning him, one can easily perceive that, as Mr. Sharp says, 'he took by right of strongest gift the place of guide and inspirer, the vigorously magnetic personality of the man being in itself almost sufficient to account for this.' Altogether one has no difficulty in recognizing the correctness of Ruskin's description of him as the 'chief intellectual force in the establishment of the modern romantic school in England.'

In one respect, to be afterwards referred to, William Holman Hunt was greater than his master. He was otherwise one of the strongest characters and most distinctive geniuses of the Rossetti Circle. His frank and noble bearing, his indomitable courage, his sanity of judgement and undeviating purpose, his firm grasp of the principles of Pre-Raphaelitism, and his slow but steady advance to a commanding position not only among the leaders of English art but among the teachers of English Christianity, give to him a place all his own in the Brotherhood. His autobiographical papers, published in the *Contemporary Review* in

1886, are in some respects the most interesting record of the early struggles and triumphs of the school. They are written with beautiful simplicity. It is amazing to read in them how pictures so fresh and original, so full of detailed truth to Nature, so vivid in their realization of imaginative subjects, so intense and passionate, so marvellous in their treatment of light and distance, as the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' 'The Hireling Shepherd,' and 'Claudio and Isabella,' hung unappreciated on the walls of the exhibitions. Hunt's later pictures, mostly religious in character, and so well known as to need no mention here, preserve all the characteristics of his early Romanticism. They also illustrate his one great difference with Rossetti (and it might be added, with Burne-Jones)—his contention that Oriental and other subjects should be studied with due regard to archaeological truth of detail: though in all his detail he never lost sight of the principle laid down by himself, 'that a man's work should be the reflex of the living image in his own mind of the idea treated, and not the icy double of the facts themselves.'

Millais is generally regarded as the Pre-Raphaelite Brother who deserted the movement, as the 'Lost Leader,' for whom the good cause mourned. The pictures he painted in his early manner, notably 'Autumn Leaves,' 'Sir Isumbras at the Ford,' and 'The Vale of Rest,' have the imagination and symbolism of the Pre-Raphaelites, together with a brilliancy of execution all his own. I was interested the other day to hear a little group of working men in the Birmingham Corporation Gallery, loudly declaring to one another that the 'Blind Girl'—a Pre-Raphaelite Millais—was the greatest picture there. The critics say that when Millais left his early associates he adopted 'a larger and freer method of handling'—and many other virtues of the craft. The fact is, he found out his own way of applying the principles he had early imbibed. He never ceased to be a Romanticist, though his later subjects were chosen for the most part from modern life. His earnestness, his devotion to Nature, his conscientious minuteness of finish, never left

him. He may perhaps be described as the Tennyson of art; and he was as devoted as his literary contemporary to the loftiest views of his calling, holding, with every true Romanticist, that 'Art should have a great and abiding purpose, giving all its strength to the beautifying or ennoblement of whatever subject it touched, whether sacred or secular' (*Life*, vol. i. p. 62).

The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood included several other names; but, as it is my chief purpose to discover principles and gather up results, it is not necessary to say more here than that the three outstanding personalities had the sympathy and help of a larger company, some of whom, like William Bell Scott and Ford Madox Brown, were not formally of the Brotherhood. 'Rossetti and his Circle' is a title which, however, embraces them all, and, in addition others, who, like William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones, came late into the movement.

William Morris was not only the most voluminous writer of the Circle, but was its actual leader in a department of work the Brethren themselves had always had in view—the improvement of design in stained glass, household objects, furniture, curtains, carpets, and interior decorations generally. His immense driving energy, the charm of his character, his unselfish enthusiasms, his simplicity and intense seriousness, his life spent in incessant creative activity, make of him one of the most fascinating figures of the age. As to the sweep of his influence, I believe it to be curiously true that almost every house in the England of the upper and middle classes has within it some sign that this man lived and worked, as he says, 'to make life once again become beautiful and dramatic withal.' That was his purpose. And the life he loved is depicted in his many volumes, nearly all of them rich in mediaeval tone and colour, many of them, like *The Defence of Guinevere*, and some at least of the stories of the *Earthly Paradise*, instinct with life, 'their characters flesh and blood under their chain armour, and the trappings of their tabards.' Take him for all in all, we shall never see his like again—a man of the fourteenth

century projected by some strange fate into the bustling life of modern London !

The special quality in the Romanticism of Burne-Jones is its note of sadness, arising, as Ruskin thinks, from 'a deeper sense of the tremendous outer forces which urge us than of the inner impulse towards heroic struggle and achievement.' The Burne-Jones woman is ideal in grace and purity, in tenderness and elevated sensibility ; but there is in her always an *arrière pensée*, a sense not only of the romance of life, but of its questions and difficulties. In the work of Burne-Jones the range of subject, as in that of Rossetti, is immense, and runs over similar lines of choice ; but there is all the difference between his genius and that of his master that there is between the Gothic and the Florentine spirit. He is much more sophisticated, though no more elaborate. He is therefore more touched with the stress and strain of modern life, and invests his Danaës and Sybillas, his Arthurian knights and maidens, and even his saints and angels, with something of the wistfulness and questioning of his own era. There is trouble also in many of Rossetti's ideal faces ; but their pain is a cosmic emotion, as in 'Pandora' and 'Astarte'—some great world question, not the ache of modernity. By his early education in Birmingham and his life at Oxford, as well as by his entire devotion to scholarship beyond the period of life when most of them had got well forward in artistic production, Burne-Jones was brought much more than some of his *confrères* under the influence of modern culture. Yet he is never other than a true Romanticist, both in his choice of subjects and in his distinctive and inimitable style. Peculiar as that style is, it is the outcome of absolute loyalty to Nature ; though in his imagination the facts of Nature were selected and combined, and then transmuted into works of art which excited the questioning wonder of their first beholders and the admiration and despair of his brother artists—works in which Nature herself becomes Art and Life and Thought.

We have now before us some slight picture of the Romantic Movement in modern English art, and enough

characterization of a few of its leaders, to enable us to see at a glance what a very earnest and genuine force it exercised. It remains to see how intensely mystical and spiritual it was, and how important was the service it rendered, not only to religion in its wider meaning, but to the Christianity of our country, in raising up a barrier against the hard materialism which threatened, by a false interpretation of science, to submerge all faith in the realities of the unseen.

Romanticism is always and necessarily mystical. Of the romanticism of Rossetti and his Circle, it is not enough to define it with Ruskin as 'the habit of regarding the external and real world as a singer of Romaunts would have regarded it in the Middle Ages, and as Scott, Burns, Byron, and Tennyson have regarded it in our own times.' And here comes in the great service which Mr. Theodore Watts-Dunton has rendered in the interpretation of the school, with which, through his friendship with Rossetti, he was so closely allied. To him Romanticism is 'the renascence of the spirit of wonder in poetry and art'—a spirit which he believes will largely occupy the energies of the present century, and play an important part in the final emancipation of man. As he says in *Aylwin*, in a passage which perhaps presents the central motif of the story:

'But the wonder will be exercised in very different fields from those in which it was exercised in the past. The materialism which at this moment seems to most thinkers inseparable from the idea of evolution will go. Against their own intentions certain scientists are showing that the spiritual force called life is the maker and not the creature of organism—is a something outside the material world, a something which uses the material world as a means of phenomenal expression.'

Since these words were written, the 'New Theory of Matter,' as recently expounded in the January number of this REVIEW, has vindicated, in the schools of science itself, the staunchness of the poets and artists to their mystical rendering of the facts of the world. The Mystics of the Middle

Ages rendered splendid service as conservators of the poetry and sentiment of religion, and by their opposition to the dry, cold, rationalist formalism of the schoolmen. A similar service has been rendered in our time, perhaps all the more effective that it has not in all cases professed itself religious, by the men who did so much to keep alive the spirit of wonder in an age of scientific certitude.

But were they Mystics in any true sense? Mysticism begins in a simple acknowledgement that there is something mysterious in the order of the world. From that point the mystics advance to systems of doctrine and states of feeling as various as their names. Because of the variety of its manifestations it is useless to attempt a definition of mysticism; but the essential feature of it is always the same—that it shall look through Nature to That Beyond Nature which the heart of man is for ever seeking. In this sense the work of Rossetti and his Circle was indeed mystical. Its beautiful symbolism pointed to the greater meanings of life. Its underlying philosophy was intensely spiritual. It lived 'by Admiration, Hope, and Love.'

At the Academy banquet, soon after Rossetti's death, Lord Leighton (then Sir Frederick) spoke of him as 'a mystic by temperament and right of birth.' And further:

'Steeped in the Italian literature of the mystic age, his works in either art are filled with a peculiar fascination and fervour, which attracted to him from those who enjoyed his intimacy a rare degree of admiring devotion.'

It has been objected that all this fervour—unction, one might call it—had no clear, definite purpose behind it. The great man's great purpose generally remains his secret. Why did Shakespeare write *Hamlet*? What was the purpose of Dante in the *Divina Commedia*? The secret of Rossetti, it must be confessed, is very elusive. Perhaps one may surprise it by gazing long and hard at the 'Astarte Syriaca,' or the 'Dante's Dream,' or by pondering over the ballads illustrating mediaeval magic, or over 'The Blessed Damozel' and 'The Burden of Nineveh.' Not all of it; but certainly something of it.

Mystery, lo! betwixt the Sun and Moon
Astarte of the Syrians . . .
Torch-bearing, her sweet ministers compel
All thrones of light beyond the sky and sea
The witnesses of Beauty's face to be :
That face, of love's all-penetrative skill,
Amulet, talisman, and oracle,
Betwixt the Sun and Moon a mystery.

For this work his brother tells us he had a special favour, aiming to make it 'equally strong in abstract sentiment and physical grandeur, an ideal of the mystery of beauty.' And what is the mystery of beauty as we know it in this world? Is it not that which makes the face of the Astarte, for all the splendour of her more than regal beauty (and never did Rossetti, the great colourist, produce a greater wonder of deep and gorgeous colouring), expressive of the pain of life far more than of its pride—the mystery that a thing so spiritual as beauty must yet express itself in forms of the material and the perishable?

As to the 'Dante's Dream,' its mystic character is its all in all. It expresses the very spirit of the 'Vita Nuova,' and so of Dante and the wonderful contribution that he made to the spiritual interpretation of life. The angels with the little white cloud which is the soul of Beatrice, the flame-coloured Love, the stooping figure of the poet with his solemn features, the arrow and the apple-blossom, the silent street outside, the air of stillness, peace, and hopefulness—all are symbolical. The life is dream-life; and so is man's life here. The death which has removed the soul of Beatrice is no king of terrors, and the grief which shakes the soul of Dante is the submissive sorrow out of which comes the greater blessings of life—faith, hope, and charity. So the 'Vita Nuova':

And I became so humble in my grief,
Seeing in her such deep humility,
That I said, 'Death, I hold thee passing good
Henceforth, and a most gentle sweet relief,
Since my dear love has chosen to dwell with thee :
Pity, not hate, is thine, well understood.'

The poetry of Rossetti is so closely related to his art that it has been said that his pictures are poems, and his poems pictures. They are equally mystical; and the poems, like the pictures, are permeated with a sense of the reality of the supernatural. Some, such as 'Sister Helen' and 'Rose Mary,' have, in addition, an air of tragic gloom; and it is worth notice here that Rossetti agrees with all great poets in making tragedy the natural and inevitable consequence of sin. In this regard 'The Burden of Nineveh,' bright and fantastic as it is in tone, is yet a prophet's message of fate to the nation

That walked not in Christ's lowly ways,
But bowed its pride and vowed its praise
Unto the God of Nineveh.

I have spoken of Rossetti's secret as possibly to be discovered in his poetry; surely that should be in 'The Blessed Damozel,' so clearly a burst of inspiration, so often, it is evident, recurring to his thought. What is the real faith it represents, with its curious felicity of phrase, its exquisite quaintness, its refined and delicate beauty? Mr. A. C. Benson says of it that it is 'a supreme instance of the charging of an ancient form with the most passionate dreams of to-day.' Yes, indeed! The dreams of Dante Gabriel Rossetti were passionate; to him the dream-life—the life of soul and imagination—was the real life, and the world owed all its beauty, and history all its meaning, to the fact that the Eternal, the Real, was continually breaking through the veils of Time and Sense.

The mysticism of William Morris lies chiefly in the recognition of the moral symbolism of the Norse mythology. The eager and sympathetic passion with which he threw himself into the study and illustration of the religion of the Norsemen arose from his sense of its genuine worth; for he believed with Ruskin that mythology was not a temporary form of human folly, but that through it 'the thoughts of all the greatest and wisest men hitherto, since the world was made, have been expressed.' So, though he outlived his early fascination for the external forms of Anglicanism, he still

retained his hold on so much of spiritual truth as is common to all the great religions. His creed is the mystico-naturalism of many famous poets. His greatest story, according to many excellent judges,—certainly the greatest of the 'Earthly Paradise' series,—is the *Lovers of Gudrun*. Norse in scenery and character, in moral significance it is akin to the *Prometheus Vincit* and the Book of Job. The tragic conception of an all-compelling destiny which fascinated him in the saga of *Sigurd* and the *Nibelungen Lied* is there; but as Prometheus, though bound in fate, was never bound in spirit, and as Job, though crushed by calamities, still knew that his Vindicator lived and reigned, so Gudrun, though her lovers are cut off one by one in the flower of manhood, remains tranquil and unembittered in spirit, for the human soul is greater than Destiny, and character rises triumphant over Fate. So an invincible optimism seems to have been the inspiration of Morris's amazing literary and artistic productiveness. He believed in the Great Soul of the World, and believed it on the side of justice and beauty—which is the justice of outward form. He thought that the Norse 'Twilight of the Gods' might repeat itself in the eclipse of modern life with its ugliness and selfishness; but the new heaven and earth would follow: and then?—

'Well, sometimes we must needs think that we shall live again; yet if that were not, would it not be enough that we helped to make this unnameable glory, and lived not altogether deedless? Think of the joy we have in praising great men, and how we turn their stories over and over, and fashion their lives for our joy; and this also we ourselves may give to the world.'

In the artist soul of Burne-Jones there were the makings of a spiritual philosopher. He never formally set forth his views; but, in the priceless twenty-fifth chapter of his biography, a conversation with Dr. Sebastian Evans is reported, in which he gave perhaps the fullest expression he ever made of the faith that was in him. He believed that consciousness itself necessarily implied a duality of exist-

ence. Not that there is any real antithesis between the conscious self and the things of which it is conscious; for, as a matter of fact, one is an infinitesimally small part of the other. 'Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades or loose the bands of Orion? Canst thou bring forth Mazzaroth in his season, or guide Arcturus with his sons?' So that we have to live two lives in one, and in the two worlds in one—the microcosm and the macrocosm. Hence 'know thyself' becomes the great maxim of his life, out of which he infers all the obligations of duty, goodness, justice, and mercy. Hence his 'Make the most of your best' becomes the counterpart of Watts's 'The utmost for the Highest'; and since to him his moral ideal had the sacredness of the Catholic Faith, there is no wonder that in all the vast output of his artistic work, there is not only a spirit essentially religious, but the evidence of a conscious purpose towards the uplifting of the world. His religious art, so largely displayed in his magnificent church windows, is full of evidence of his profound sympathy with 'the enthusiasm and devotion, the humanity and romance, the self-denial and splendid achievement' of mediaeval Christianity. Doctrinal distinctions did not interest him. 'There are only two sides of Christianity,' he said, 'for which I am fitted by the Spirit that designs in me—the carol part and the mystical part'; and his great purpose was to bring to bear upon the lives of men, for their redemption and uplifting, the spiritual forces so grandly symbolized in his renderings of the scenes of Christian history, allegory, and apocalypse. Were we to consider the artist as prophet, Burne-Jones would figure as an Ezekiel, rich, like his prototype, in spiritual imagination, full of pained recognition of the sinfulness of man, and yet firm in assurance of the ultimate victory of the Spirit within him.

'To me, he says, this weary, toiling, groaning world of men and women is none other than Our Lady of the Sorrows. It lies in you and me and all the faithful to make her Our Lady of the Glories. Will she ever be so? Will she? Will she? She shall be, if your

toil and mine, and the toil of a thousand ages of them that come after us, can make her so.'

Are we to number Millais among our spiritual teachers? There is certainly little of the mystic about him, except in so far as we may describe the religion of the typical English Christian gentleman as a form of mysticism. In fact, Millais never quite agreed with Ruskin in thinking that art should be a great moral teacher, with religion as its basis and main-spring. Yet, as we have seen, his art was truly romantic; and often it was illustrative of the very finest elements of the spiritual character. Sir William Richmond says of him that 'he touched nothing that he did not ennoble by an artistic perception entirely innate.' He was a truly religious man, and in later years his choice of subjects became more serious. 'Speak,' 'Time,' 'A Forerunner,' were, we are told, but outward and visible signs of the drift of his thoughts; and those who knew him best understood that he had it in his mind to devote himself to the illustration of still more sacred scenes. In the meantime there is his 'St. Stephen' to reveal the power that was in him to deal adequately with subjects very near to the heart of the most spiritually minded. The sweet, pure face of the martyred youth, the aureole which floats above his death-pale features, the sombre scene relieved by the first light of dawn, the Christian friends just appearing out of the darkness, are merely details of a picture which in its entirety forms the powerful appeal of a Christian artist to the sympathy, the love, the veneration, which should be felt for the first martyr of the faith. Not to know the picture well is not to know the last, perhaps the mightiest, word yet spoken in exposition of the great chapter in the Acts in which St. Stephen's story is told.

In Holman Hunt the mysticism of the Romanticist assumes the loftier form of ardent faith in the reality of the Christian revelation; and in his art the principles of Pre-Raphaelitism are used, not only for the illustration of scenes from Christian history, but for the exposition of the loftiest mysteries of the Christian faith—the Incarnation and Atonement of Christ. Of course, all this may be assumed—has

been assumed by some artists: as Sainte-Beuve has it, 'Phidias et Raphael faisaient admirablement les divinités, et n'y croyaient plus.' But happily there can be no doubt of the absolute sincerity of Hunt. The very first principle of the school was, as we have seen, sincerity. Rossetti, many of whose pictures come under the head of Sacred Art, never put into his most distinctively Christian work more than he believed. One must not look to it for positive Christian teaching, though there is abundance of Christian sentiment and poetry. Indeed, on the side of his imagination, Rossetti was intensely Catholic, and Christianity always appealed to him as the most beautiful of religions. Mr. Swinburne says of him, that, like the Venetians, Tintoretto and Veronese, he felt and gave the mere physical charm of Christianity. So one must look to the 'Beata Beatrix' or the 'Dante's Dream' for his highest spiritual suggestions, rather than to his sacred pictures, formally so called. But with Holman Hunt how different! The spiritual interpretation of life, the high veracities and sincere mysticisms of Rossetti and Burne-Jones, are included in his art; but they are raised to loftier regions of faith, and brought to bear with more direct impressiveness, by the clear realization of the Fact of Christ. In sheer art mastery he stands level with the greatest of his friends; and, at the same time, in moral and spiritual significance his work is equal to that of the greatest minds of the age, devoted to the exclusive service of religion. Our apprehension of the great Christian doctrine of sacrifice especially, owes much to his mighty paintings—not least to the last of them, 'The Triumph of the Innocents,' pronounced by Ruskin to be 'the greatest religious picture of our time.'

It may be objected that, in our study of Rossetti and his Circle, we have allowed no drawbacks, no imperfections and uncertainties. No doubt every one of these men had faults of character; and the curious in such matters will find them—especially Rossetti's—dealt with quite unsparingly in the books. Yet it is pleasant to read how Lady Burne-Jones, in her description of the brilliant young men who were

destined in after years to adorn the story of English genius with a new and fascinating chapter, records her deliberate conviction that every one of them was at that time living a life of absolute moral purity and unselfish devotion to art and literature. Ruskin calls Rossetti, Hunt, Burne-Jones, and Watts, 'in the most solemn sense hero-worshippers.' Surely also they were heroes, and each illustrated, in his own daring originality and self-sacrificing devotion, 'The Hero as Artist.' No doubt, also, they had faults as artists as well as men; but the business of this article is not art criticism, neither is the writer competent to place, amidst the various galaxies which illuminate the history of the world's art, this company of England's sons. Even here, however, their place is unquestionably high, their immortality secure, not only because they possessed brilliant genius, but that they used that genius nobly and unselfishly.

'Their aim,' said John Ruskin of them long ago, 'has always been the brightest and best possible. The more you can admire them, and the longer you read, the more your minds and hearts will be filled with the best knowledge accessible in history, and the loftiest associations conveyable by the passionate and reverent skill, of which I have told you, in the *Laws of Fésolé*, that "All great Art is Praise."

W. BURKITT DALBY.

THE INFLUENCE OF INDIA ON CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.

WE commonly think of foreign missions as all giving without any receiving, and in a commercial age it is well that this should be so. Yet there never can be a faithful discharge of Christian duty unaccompanied by reward. It is impossible that the Church of Christ should carry out its Lord's command and not be made the richer in the process of obedience. Not seldom the taint of an over-weening conceit has shown itself in our intercourse with non-Christian peoples. The prominence of our Anglo-Saxon race in the foreign missionary enterprise has been attributed by the unsympathetic critic to the national trait of insularity, our incapacity for recognizing anything good in institutions differing from our own, and our inveterate habit of imposing our ideas upon others. It is said that we regard ourselves as the sole depositories of religious truth, and assume the place and function of universal teachers. It must be admitted that there is a use of the phrase 'the poor heathen' which is intolerable in its needless condescension. Owing, perhaps, to the fact that missions which bulked large in the popular imagination in the past century were working among peoples possessing civilizations inferior in every respect to our own, the mere possibility of spiritual and intellectual commerce or exchange between the Christian and the non-Christian world has not been generally recognized. The popular notion of the British administrator abroad, as of the British missionary, is of one who dispenses good to a humble and grateful folk. Our Government, in its foreign operations, is a benevolent despotism, and our religion an indulgent patronage.

One of the dangers the missionary has to avoid is that of allowing the preaching of the gospel to degenerate with him into a mere sectarian controversy, in which the prevalence of

Christian thought shall become a triumph for his own party, for his own country, or for himself. He is exposed to a subtle temptation to racial pride—to claim for himself and his people what belongs rightly to Christ alone. And I hold that one of the great gains that has already come to the Church through its more perfect obedience to the command of Christ, and its wider intercourse with the family of mankind, has been a gain in humility. We are being weaned from self-conceit and racial arrogance. No mind, candid and devout, confronted with the complex civilization of a country like India and her vast store of ancient wisdom, will hesitate to believe that we in the West have something to learn of her, as well as something to communicate to her.

When Mrs. Besant was visiting Madras, the Hindu social reformers asked her, 'Is there any connexion between spiritual greatness and greatness in politics, commerce, literature, and science?' It was a shrewd question, aimed right at the heart of the flimsy fantasy now passing under the name of Theosophy in India; but whether or no Mrs. Besant was able to return a satisfactory answer does not concern us here. We all admit the justice of the implication that true religion must exercise a beneficial and stimulating influence in every legitimate department of human activity. The Christian apologist quite rightly attributes our superiority in some or all of these fields to the progressive impulse of Christian truth. And yet it has to be remembered that in essence Christianity is no more than a spiritual principle—the right correlation of God and man. Though this principle is bound in time to elevate and expand all the forms of human endeavour, still it does require time for its out-working. Christianity has been associated so long with the most advanced forms of social organization, with pre-eminence in science pure and applied, with commercial and military supremacy, that it comes upon the world with quite a shock of novelty when a non-Christian nation proves itself our equal or our superior in any or all of these respects. Let us get back to the first age. Rome represented a higher form of political organization, and Greece a more cultivated philosophy and

art than Palestine. Yet the early Christian preachers went forth intrepidly to men of races admittedly superior to their own in political capacity, in dialectical skill, and in aesthetic sensibility, because they were conscious that they carried in their hands a lamp of God, which should become the Light of the World. The unique character of that revelation which had come to them in Christ, and its sovereign truth, warranted them in their audacious mission, and ultimately gave them the victory. Even so in this twentieth century it is conceivable that, by virtue of God-given genius and other favouring conditions, the Hindu peoples have evolved for themselves forms of thought and an organization of society which have their lessons for us. Our claim to go to the East as teachers of religion is not based upon the necessary superiority of ourselves, as rulers or thinkers or artists, but on our possession of a revelation, sole in Christ. Both the method of our entering into this possession and the nature of the revelation itself, forbid pride and boasting on our part. What we seek to communicate we have first received; what we possess is God's gift to us. So that the motto inscribed on the banners of the militant Church abroad is, 'We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus as Lord, and ourselves as your servants for Jesus' sake.'

Now, as on our side the result of more intimate acquaintance with India has been a disposition to study and to understand, to listen and to learn, so on the other side, in India there is the uprising of a hope and a conviction that the Hindu has something to cast into the common lot of mankind, his distinctive contribution to make to the world's thought and worship. In ages past India has been self-contained and self-sufficing. But to-day the intrusion of the West upon her solitude with influences, persistent and unrelenting, at once the gentlest and the most powerful that she has ever known, has stirred her peoples out of their complacency. For the first time you catch the universal note in Indian religion. The popularity of what has been called Neo-Hinduism lies altogether in its representation of India as the spiritual mistress of mankind, and of the Vedanta as

absolute, and therefore universal, truth. We witness to-day the strange spectacle of Hinduism thrusting forth labourers into the field of the world. Both in America and in Great Britain there are the few who profess themselves the converts of Hindu missionaries, and their creed is the Vedanta. It will be objected that these wandering *Swamis* in the West are no true representatives of India. No commission has been given them by any organized body of Hindu thought; nor can such a commission be given, because no such body exists. These men are no more competent to interpret the doctrine of the schools than they are orthodox in their habit of life. As for their Western followers they are the lovers of novelties, the fickle and unstable in judgement, admirers of all religions save that into which they were born. One of them describes herself as belonging to the category of 'hearts born too sensitive for their more rudimentary emotional surroundings.'¹ But while such movements are at present only sporadic and grotesque in many of their manifestations, are they to be dismissed as mere freaks without meaning? May they not be indications of great changes to come, the straws that are blown before the Indian rain-storm? Western civilization has achieved this result in the East, that India has been awaked to find herself in a great world; the desire has been kindled in her to play her part in its affairs and to utter her voice in its councils. The pressure of Christian missions has forced this conclusion upon Hinduism, that if a religion be true at all, it is universally true. A missionary Christianity has evoked a missionary Hinduism. And to those who can discern rightly, this will appear to be great gain.

The title of this article will recall to mind a well-known book of the late Professor Max Müller, *India, and What it can Teach Us*. The series of lectures of which that book consists was delivered little more than twenty years ago, and yet one feels how out of date it is already. Surely one need not seek to-day to convince an audience of intelligent

¹ Miss Margaret Noble in *The Web of Indian Life*.

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Englishmen that residence in India is not intellectual exile, that India can supply subjects worthy of serious study, that in her institutions and literature is contained material of the highest scientific value for the student of language and of religion. In this article I would go much farther, and maintain that in India there are elements of positive worth—not merely of curious interest—which the Christian missionary can accept thankfully, and use in the building up of the fabric of the Christian Church and nation.

The validity of Christian missions does not rest upon the utter falsehood of non-Christian religions, and the complete and unrelieved corruptness of their morality. Nowhere has God left Himself without witness, and the missionary, in dealing with the venerable systems of the East, should resemble rather the miner in the diamond mine than the man with the muck-rake. It may be that for one gem of truth tons of rubbish will have to be turned over; but the missionary is under no necessity to deny the existence of such gems, or to belittle their worth, when discovered. It is as true of religions as of persons that we do not know them till we see them at their best. Let us be sure that if we have plumbed the blackest depths of the Hindu imagination, we have also beheld it where it climbs nearest to the stars.

It is a moot point to what extent some of the noblest literature of India is indebted to historical Christianity. Modern scholarship rejects the theory that the *Bhagavad Gītā*, best known to English readers in Sir Edwin Arnold's verse translation, 'The Song Celestial,' owes any of its ideas to Christian sources; but, on the other hand, Dr. Pope is convinced that the great Tamil philosophy of South India, the *Saiva Siddhānta*, has borrowed some of its distinctive doctrines from the early Christian missionaries. But whether or no there has been contact, direct or indirect, with the truths made known to us by the historical Christ, and propagated by His disciples in after ages, one affirms that whatever is true must ultimately derive from the Word of God Himself—that Son of God, existent before Time, through whom the world was made, the Light that lighteth

every man coming into the world. Did not one discover such evidences of God's working in India, one might be tempted to despair of the Hindu, and to dispute his title to a common salvation, his heirship with us in the kingdom of heaven. Thus foreign missions restore due emphasis to the doctrines of the eternity of the Son and the universality of the Spirit. They do not lay again the foundations of Christian theology; rather they remove some of the débris of the centuries, and disclose the foundations that have been laid once and for all. It is not so much a new standpoint that we have gained, as an old one that we have recovered. We are brought back to the magnificent range of vision which belongs to the Introduction of the Fourth Gospel—to its detachment from all that is merely temporal, local, or ethnic. Bursting the trammels of our insularity, while locked in conflict with the non-Christian systems of the world, we are able to appreciate the view of the earliest Christian apologist,¹ who in similar circumstances wrote:—

‘For each man spoke well in proportion to the share he had of the spermiatic word, seeing what was related to it. . . . Whatsoever things were rightly said amongst men are the property of us Christians. For next to God, we worship and love the Lord who is from the unbegotten and ineffable God. For all the writers were able to see realities darkly through the sowing of the implanted Word that was in them.’

What particular features, then, of Hindu thought may be singled out for special notice? The intellectual life of India has been dominated from the beginning by a passion for unity. In the *Rig-Veda*, the oldest extant literature of the Indo-European family, we can watch the thought of the early Aryan invaders of India feeling its way through a crowd of natural phenomena deified towards a unity of administration and of substance in the universe. This seems to be attained partially and momentarily by exalting to the supreme position now this god and now that. But in the latest hymns of the compilation we reach the conception of

¹ Justin Martyr in the Second Apology.

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a Personal Creator, the Maker of all things and Father of all creatures, and also of one existent, underlying all phenomena and manifesting itself variously in them. The question as to the nature of that One, whether it be personal or impersonal, whether an *I* or an *It*, is not settled in the Rig-Veda.

The issue as between monotheism and pantheism is still open, but we are able to observe the trend towards unity. In its developed philosophy, India arrived at a conception of pure being, absolute and unqualified unity, such as can scarcely be paralleled in any other philosophy. There is that One, self-existent, beyond the range of speech or thought, of whom it can be predicated only—'not thus, not thus.' The Brahman sage may have succeeded no better than men of other races in relating this One to the many. Nevertheless, such has been the influence of this idea upon the mind of the people, that even the illiterate villager looks out upon the universe of change and decay with a sense of its being pervaded by the Eternal and Indivisible Being. It is characteristic of the Indian temperament that the one Hindu scientist¹ with a European fame, should have employed himself in proving the similarity of the response, made by certain metals and by lowly organic forms, to electrical stimuli. Nor do we wonder when he writes that the result of his researches has heightened his appreciation of the wisdom of his ancestors, who thousands of years ago saw in nature one universal force variously manifesting itself. The prevailing habit of thought in the West sets God high above us, outside of His universe. Nature is a machine, that has been brought into existence by the Creator; but having been once charged with physical forces, it now runs independently according to the laws which its Maker has ordained. This is an attitude very different from the Indian's. He would have us realize the existence of God in every blade of grass. Natural laws are the modes of God's operation. The Anglo-Indian, returning to the homeland, is conscious of a change in himself in this respect. Nature is

¹ Professor Bose.

nearer to him than before, and more akin; for God is in it and in him.

We have to note here, however, that the general effect of pantheism in India is to put God farther off, instead of bringing Him nigher to the worshipper; because it is a pantheism conceived through nature alone and with the help of physical analogies. 'As the clay is one, and the pots are many'; 'as the sun is one, and its images in the rain-drops are countless'; 'as a grain of salt pervades the whole of the water'—these are some of the standard classical illustrations, by means of which it is sought to explain the nature of the divine unity. Approaching the Godhead along this avenue of material images, one is bound to end in a conception of a dead unity, a physical omnipresence and vastness that is overwhelming; nor is God made near to us by any affinity with our own highest attributes of will and love. The pantheist's god, paradoxical though it seem, is afar off from the worshipper. Has not one of our own poets¹ sung in these days:

The God I know of, I shall ne'er
Know, though He dwells exceeding nigh.
Raise thou the stone and find me there,
Cleave thou the wood and there am I.
Yea, in my flesh, His Spirit doth flow,
Too near, too far, for me to know.

Unmeet to be profaned by praise,
Is He whose coils the world enfold;
The God on whom I ever gaze,
The God I never once behold:
Above the cloud, beneath the clod:
The unknown God, the unknown God.

We have to glean from India all her sense of the immanence of God in the universe without for a moment weakening our faith in His transcendence of the universe. He is near to us, in spite of His infinite majesty, because we approach Him by the avenue of the spiritual and not

¹ William Watson.

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of the material alone. Personality is for us the greatest and ultimate fact of our universe. The unity is to be conceived as that which may exist among persons, and not merely as that which underlies the diversities of matter—a unity differentiated within itself from eternity. 'I and the Father are One,' is for us the highest expression of the oneness of the Godhead. 'As we are One,' is our standard or norm of unity. So that Christ charges men, created in the likeness of God, to address Him as the Father in heaven, and His pantheism issues in these words of intimate trust and gladness:—

'But if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall He not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?'

'Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? And not one of them shall fall to the ground without your Father. . . . Fear not therefore.'

The conception of the One leads the Hindu to recognize the continuity of all life. The theory of evolution had not to overcome any initial prejudice or repugnance in his mind. Modern science merely gives exactness and detail to views that have been long current in India. From the inorganic to the organic, from the creeping life of the worm to the exalted walk of man, the Hindu sees but one continuously ascending scale of becoming. Whereas in the West our pragmatic judgement has fastened on that which separates man from the brute, in India attention has been directed to that which they possess in common.

Now we do not hesitate to declare which—for the ends of human life—is the more important point to emphasize, our kinship to the brute or our aloofness from it. At the bar of the private judgement and in the public tribunal, for the purposes of human society and of the State, it is enough that we know we *are* self-determining and responsible agents; to ascertain by what age-long and gradual processes we *became* such is of no immediate urgency. It would not be hard to demonstrate that those Eastern philosophies which lay emphasis on the elements common to man and

brute, have diminished reverence for human life without enhancing consideration for animal life. The frequency and levity with which murder is undertaken in India, the slight degree of moral reprehension with which it is visited by public opinion, and the homicidal customs of the people, prove how seriously human life has depreciated through relating it to the animal. With the failure to recognize its peculiar characteristics, its special sanctity has gone. But it will be urged that what man has lost, the animal must have gained. Surely India can present to us a pre-eminent example of the merciful man who is merciful to his beast. The highest castes of Hindus are vegetarian in their diet. In the doctrine of *Praṇāhimsa* the virtue of harmlessness, or doing no injury to any living thing, is inculcated most stringently. Now, though this doctrine and the ensuing habit of life may have originated in a humane sentiment, in Buddhist disgust at the tale of victims required for the bloody ritual of the Brahmana age, yet in modern India they have too often degenerated into a selfish superstition. If hate be the essential sin of murder, then indifference to suffering or active lust of cruelty is the essential sin in the slaughter of animals. And in this view it must be sometimes more merciful to slay than to keep alive. Nothing can be more cruel than the Hindu custom of turning out aged cows to die of slow starvation. The domestic animal that has been cast off by its master is one of the most painful, as it is one of the common, sights in the vicinity of an Indian village. Poor dumb creatures may be found upon its outskirts, maimed and diseased, trailing their broken limbs upon the ground, and exposing their sores to the torments of sun and swarming flies. The Hindu of to-day will display a callous indifference to the sufferings of the animals under his hand, while in his own supposed interests he shrinks with a lively horror from the taking of their lives. Thus man fails to exercise his right of merciful lordship, and the quality of mercy deteriorates in him into a selfish regard for his own salvation.

But though the idea of the continuity of all life is

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powerless to prevent these evils, and creates these perils, it is bound to make an impression on Christian thought. An examination of the literature of the vegetarian movement in England will show how largely it is inspired by Eastern ideals. Both the doctrine and the practice of India will lead to an increasing amount of interest being taken in the questions of the proper food for mankind, the relation of diet to bodily health, and the relation of bodily health to morality and the spiritual life. This much on the more practical side. On the purely speculative side India deepens one's sense of the mystery of human consciousness. It raises into prominence those biological and psychological studies which trace the development of the human body, which investigate the relationship between the animal and the human mind, and which attempt to discover the beginnings of responsible moral activity, and to define its limits.

The Hindu doctrine of the After Things is only another phase of the passion for unity and continuity. As in the organic world we of the West have drawn a hard-and-fast line between man and beast, so we have made a sharp distinction between the life now and the life hereafter. There is a break of gauge, so sudden and so thorough, that the travelling Reason is thrown off the line and disabled from pursuing its investigations further. How is it possible that the life of the ordinary Christian, as we know it here, erring, striving, sorrowful, should pass at death into a sinless existence, where obedience and bliss are alike unfailing? We are all conscious of a lack of continuity at this point. The Roman Catholic finds relief in the doctrine of Purgatory. The Protestant, as a rule, takes the common-sense view that we do not know, and cannot know, and that therefore it is no use troubling about these things. But the influence of India is all in the direction of that view of the future life which declares it to have an intimate connexion with the present. There is no arbitrary and capricious hiatus between what we now are and what we shortly shall be. If the hour of death finds us genuinely repentant, abhorring evil and

cleaving to that which is good, and trusting in the manifested mercy of God, His grace may set our foot upon a ladder of ascending life beyond the possibility of falling again; or if we have surrendered our very selves to sin and disowned the Spirit, known and felt to be holy, His grace and justice may appoint us a lot in some unimagined lower existence beyond the possibility of ever rising again. Yet, however it be, both in that reward and in this condemnation, the future is the continuation of the present; our powers and our responsibilities yonder will be proportioned to our powers here and the use we have made of them.

The doctrine of Transmigration has exercised an influence on Christian theologians in the past, and it may do so again, purged of the grossness and puerilities now associated with it in India. As believed in by the Hindu, it leads to some deplorable results. In his view, what are the misfortunes, the sorrows, the want and misery of his neighbour, but the fruit of misdeeds in a former birth? They are the merited punishment of past wrong-doing. Thus the very springs of pity and compassion are dried up; and a standard of harsh and censorious judgement is introduced into human society. Philanthropy becomes an impiety; every effort to relieve the unfortunate and to raise the depressed is an impertinent interference with the established moral order of the universe. The heart of the mischief in the Hindu doctrine of Transmigration is intellectual pride. It is an intrusion into the world of the unknowable. It speaks with the tone of authority, where the right-minded man can feel no assurance. It doth not yet appear how we became nor what we shall be. One only has been competent to declare, 'I know whence I came, and whither I go.'

From this point we pass by an easy transition to our last phase of the passion of India for unity. India has framed, and has kept for many centuries, a magnificent conception of the unity of all knowledge. It is a conception that has arisen through the growth of all the sciences known in India out of the study of the Veda. Like moons they revolve around this as their sun. Prosody, grammar,

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astronomy, geometry, and the rest are all ancillary to the Vedic sacrifice. Thus early was the plan laid down of an encyclopaedia of knowledge. The sciences were not conceived as fragmentary and isolated bodies of truth, without relation to one another, but all were connected and subordinated to one consistent aim, and each fitted in due order and place into one great scheme.

But India has the framework of science and little else. Its spaces are stuffed with rubbish. There are educated Hindus to-day who will assure one that everything which is to be known is contained in the Veda—including the latest Western discoveries of natural force and law, with their practical applications, steam and the railway train, electricity and the telegraph, X-rays and surgical operations. It is an idle and an ignorant boast. Too early did India close and seal the volume of the book of knowledge. The intellectual pride, begotten of and nurtured by caste, usurped the place of philosophy, the active love of wisdom. Oldenberg's words furnish a terrible indictment of the priestly literature of the age preceding Buddha, and they admit of a wider application to later Brahman lore. He says: 'There is nowhere to be seen an operation of the inquiring mind. That imbecile wisdom which knows all things, sits enthroned in self-content in the midst of its absurd images, and not even quakes before the spectral hosts it has conjured up.'

A little while ago one was laid to rest, who had devoted a long and strenuous lifetime to working out an all-inclusive interpretation of the universe on uniform principles. Herbert Spencer failed, yet not ignobly, because the world is greater than the thought of our wisest. The history of India shows how pride lays a fatal blight on intellect. Whatever dissatisfaction we may feel at the lack of unifying principles in our many sciences, and the seeming disorder and haphazard array of such bodies of knowledge as have been reclaimed from the tracts of the unknown, let us admit that no synthesis is better than a false or incomplete one. India warns the philosopher against a premature synthesis. Better far that we should see and deplore the gaps in our systems, than

foolishly and presumptuously contract and close the circle of knowledge.

The idea of the One has its practical issue in the ascetic or contemplative life. Believing intensely that the unseen and eternal is of greater moment than the seen and temporal, India has always produced in abundance types of men devoted to the realization of the eternal. Renunciation—detachment from the manifold distractions of the secular life in order to obtain union with the Supreme—is the great law of Hindu religion; it is the indispensable condition of perfection. From the time of the Greek chroniclers, who accompanied Alexander on his invasion of India, or who were present at Indian Courts as the ambassadors of Greek monarchs, the Western observer has been impressed by the number of naked philosophers, ruthless ascetics, itinerant sophists, and dialecticians to be seen in every part of the country. Their successors, more or less worthy, remain to this day, as numerous as ever.¹ The prevalence of the ascetic type in India has been attributed almost exclusively to a *taedium vitae*, induced by the enervating climatic conditions. We are told that the scorching heat of the sun, the monotony of the landscape, the poverty of the soil, and the endemic scourge of malarial fever have combined to give the Hindu a distaste for all the pleasures and activities of life, and have predisposed him to contemplation. No wonder, then, that he despises earthly existence and material good, and finds his solace in meditating upon that which is beyond the reach of heat and cold, birth and death, name and form. But this is only one aspect of fact. It would be equally true to say that the contemplative life is common in India, because natural conditions are so favourable and indulgent. The Hindu needs no solidly constructed house to defend him against the rigours of winter; for more than half the year the heavens may serve as his canopy. An austere climate does not make a rich and generous diet a necessity; a single

¹ A popular account of Sadhuism will be found in a recently published book, *Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, by J. C. Oman.

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daily meal of vegetables and rice will suffice to nourish his bodily frame. The majesty of the mountains and rivers, the limitless horizon of the plains, the cool splendour of the nights are so many positive helps to the realization of the infinite. In the depths of the forest, upon the bank of some sacred stream, or within the sequestered coolness and beauty of the city garden, how easy it is to follow the contemplative life! One's wants are so few and so simple. Men reflect more in India, partly because nature is there so kindly to the reflective man. It is the boast of the Hindu that whereas in the West the possession of wealth is the sole or chief claim to social distinction, in India it is *Brahmavidya*, the knowledge of the highest, that entitles a man to honour and reverence. The defenders of the caste system maintain that Hindu society is organized on the principle of giving the first place to the saint, the seer, the man of divine knowledge. In it the man of spiritual vision is the aristocrat, and the philosopher is king. The principle that a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth, is thus deeply infixed in the very structure of society. We follow after mammon, and they after God.

We cannot admit that this is a just description either of the Hindu or of the Western community. It could only be true of India if the caste system were according to the nature of things, and the man who was born a Brahman always attained to *Brahmavidya*. As a matter of fact, caste tends to substitute a despotism of birth for an aristocracy of intellect or spirituality. There are many Brahmans who exact reverence from their fellows without either the knowledge or the virtue that should support their claim. Nor do we find the members of the highest caste displaying that indifference to worldly goods which we might expect from their professions. The hymn-writers of Vedic times reserve a panegyric of special warmth for the kings who are lavish in their gifts to the priest. In the later law books, the mask and cloak of religion cannot disguise the features and form of greed. The avarice of the Brahman has passed into the proverbs of the common people.

Yet in spite of many failures to realize its own best thought, Hindu society does struggle to express an ideal of simplicity. It inculcates plain living and high thinking. It rebukes us for our fevered haste to get riches, and our pre-occupation with material good. It reminds us that we have driven out from our civilization the life of meditation, and we have left no room for it as a part of our self-culture and self-discipline. Let us beware of confounding the naturalness of the Hindu home, its simplicity of food and dress, the absence of furniture and bric-à-brac, with the state of barbarism. These features of it contrast favourably with the follies of fashion and the vulgarity of display. In another sense than the scriptural we are in danger of serving tables, of becoming slaves to furniture and houses. The simplicity of India most powerfully reinforces the plea for the simpler life at home. If one denies the virtue of courage to the Hindu in the physical sphere, at least it must be conceded that he often launches away fearlessly from the shores of creature comfort into the ocean of the infinite, and never turns back.

The renunciation of the Hindu saint may take the form of a severe intellectual discipline, by means of which union with the Deity, conceived as impersonal being, may be attained; or it may be expressed in the dedication of one's self to a personal god. The former is the *Gnāna mārga*, the Way of Knowledge; and the latter is the *Bhakti mārga*, or Way of Devotion. The history of religion in India proves that the Hindu has a profound capacity for religious emotion. To us it must appear that the objects of his *bhakti*, his passionate love, are often unreal and unworthy. Religious feeling descends through extravagances into sheer immoralities. The two commonest forms of emotional religion in India are the worship of Krishna as the divine lover, and of Kali as the divine mother. Whatever allegorical explanations may be offered of the story of Krishna's amours, no one can deny that some of the Krishna sects have been guilty of practices that admit of no defence whatsoever. The rites of the *Sāktas* too are vile beyond description.

It will suffice, however, to quote here one or two of the sayings, attributed to Ramakrishna¹—the priest of Kali's temple at Dakshinesvar, near Calcutta—who died about twenty years ago. They illustrate the dangerous trend of Hindu religious emotion, its offences against good taste, and its lack of moral restraint.

'A true devotee who has drunk deep of the Divine Love is like a veritable drunkard, and, as such, cannot always observe the rules of propriety.

'The Knowledge of God may be likened to a man, while the Love of God is like a woman. Knowledge has entry only up to the outer rooms of God, but no one can enter into the inner mysteries of God, save a lover, for woman has access even into the harem of the Almighty.

'Why does the God-lover find such pleasure in addressing the Deity as mother? Because the child is more free with its mother, and consequently she is dearer to the child than any one else.'

Now, while we can recognize no religious emotion as lawful or healthy, which is not directed by right knowledge as to its object, and is not restrained by the will within the bounds of the purest morality, there is with us a danger of fixing and stereotyping the forms in which religious emotion may be expressed. What is not confined within the limits of a narrow propriety, may be looked upon with disgust or dismay. Our classical illustration must not be David dancing before the ark; for there was an exuberance in David not always innocent, such as might on occasion justify wifely anxiety and rebuke. Let us take rather the story of that woman who was a sinner in the city and broke her alabaster cruse of exceeding precious ointment over Christ. The rigid Pharisee questions the propriety of the act; the loyal, humdrum disciples are dismayed at its extravagance; but Christ's estimate is: 'She hath wrought a good work on Me.

¹ See Max Müller's *Ramakrishna: His Life and Sayings*. The authenticity of many of these sayings is more than doubtful. The historical or critical sense has never been much in evidence in the little circle of the new Ramakrishna cult.

. . . And verily I say unto you, wheresoever the gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world, that also which this woman hath done shall be spoken of for a memorial of her.'

In many a Christian church goodness has become commonplace, and charity has been cramped into the economical dispensation of alms. The love of God is identified with a strictly temperate and well-regulated support of Christian institutions. There are occasions when these forms are as inappropriate as they are inadequate. Christ saw in the woman's deed the beauty of goodness. It was the fitting expression of a great emotion. The poetry of religion was in it, and it has made history.

Is it too much to hope that when prejudice and ignorance have been cleared away, and India sees Christ in the fullness of grace and truth, deep fountains of pure emotion will be unsealed, filling to the full and overflowing ancient channels, and making for themselves new and broader courses through a parched world?

In conclusion, it has to be admitted that a not infrequent result of residence in India and contact with Indian life is a kind of false tolerance or indifference to all religions. The returned Anglo-Indian comes back with his faith in representative government impaired or destroyed. He doubts the very possibility of human progress, and sneers at the efforts which are directed to achieving it. As for religion, he may allow that Christianity is the superior religion of a superior race, though involved, like all religions, in error and superstition; but Hindus and Muhammadans must be let alone. The types of worship and belief they have evolved are those which are best suited to the climate of their country, to their physical constitution, and to their mental temperament. To proselytize is merely to create confusion—to destroy the virtues of an old order without implanting the excellences of a new. If this habit of mind be the main result of intercourse with India, the chief influence that it has exercised on a professing Christian's thought, then let one say at once, the conqueror—as has happened before—has succumbed to the conquered. He has lost the great spiritual instinct, for our

fidelity to which God has entrusted to our nation a great empire. Along with the force of our arms, and the push of our commerce, have marched and voyaged the ideals of justice and of love. These have fashioned our government of subject races, and made our administration stable, because beneficial to the peoples to whom we have gone. The confession of our statesmen in their legislation, as of Christian missionaries in their propaganda, is that all men are the sons of one God; that they march to one common destiny, His judgement; and that for us all there is but one Truth. Alike in Western democracies and in the benevolent despotism now governing India, the mind which was in Christ is the power that inspires faith in a nobler humanity, and sustains, in the face of every failure, moral effort directed to the achievement of this great end. The man who has lost this hope has lost his best.

If the history of India has any warning to utter, it is against false toleration. Brahmanism in essence is the justification of whatever is. Like some deadly preservative, it has flowed around every form of religion—from the meanest superstition of the aboriginal to the high thought of the philosophic sages—and kept all. It has destroyed nothing, and it has elevated nothing. Over against its doctrine and its practice of the 'reserve of knowledge,' Christ has set the duty of universal *witness*. In simple obedience to His command, in the living out of the highest truth that we know, lies the hope of all mankind. It is the very spring and principle of human progress.

The cause of foreign missions does not rest upon the necessary damnation of the Hindu or Muhammadan as such. Such a doctrine will seem to us as repugnant to reason as it is devoid of warrant in Scripture. A century of missions has lifted this burden off heart and mind. And if we avoid the heresy of those who teach and believe that 'every man shall be saved by the Law or Sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that Law and the light of nature'; if we hold as firmly as ever that 'Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ,

whereby men must be saved,'¹ it is because we discern that there can be no truth in any law or sect, but has come from Him who is the Truth, that the light of nature itself proceeds from Him who is the Light of the World, and that the ministry of the Son of God cannot, for those who never knew Him in His incarnation, be limited to the narrow visible tract of time between birth and death; for He descended into Hades and preached to the spirits in prison. But however one seeks to resolve the mysteries of life and death, judgement and destiny, one returns again to the proclamation of St. Paul. Our duty of world-wide evangelization in the present is plain: '*Now* He commandeth men that they should all everywhere repent, inasmuch as He hath appointed a day in which He will judge the world in righteousness by the man whom He hath ordained; whereof He hath given assurance unto all men in that He hath raised Him from the dead.'

EDGAR W. THOMPSON.

¹ Article 18 of the Church of England.

THE MYTHS OF PLATO.

The Myths of Plato. Translated, with Introductory and other Observations, by J. A. STEWART, M.A., White's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford. (Macmillan & Co. 1905.)

Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D. (Macmillan & Co. 1891).

THE soul of man is a harp of a thousand strings, every one of which will respond and give forth music of its own, when touched by the hand of a master. High truths which move and sway the human spirit find many avenues of access to it, some of them obvious, others strange and unexpected enough. Religious teaching, for example, may appeal to the understanding, the emotions, or the will; it may take the form of dogma, plea, or precept. Religious truth is embodied in various forms, ranging from theological doctrine, which influences not the logical understanding, but the highest Reason, to the ethical principles which commend themselves to the conscience and practical discernment. But do such faculties as have been indicated exhaust the list? Might it not be said without paradox that religious teaching, in the true sense of the word, has hardly begun when only the conscience and the understanding have been reached? The bearing of religion upon the departments of reasoning and of practice is all-important, but the roots of this sacred tree lie deeper in the nature of man, and the fount of this purifying stream must be traced far beyond its course in the plains to its source in the recesses of the everlasting hills.

Religion appeals primarily to Faith. It is needless to say that true faith is not in any sense opposed to reason or conscience. Its province transcends theirs. It is a function

of the whole man, compounded as he is of sense and spirit, of instinct and reason, of complex feelings and determinative will, and possessing deep tracts of nature which lie beyond and below all these. Modern psychology has much to say of 'subliminal consciousness'; which is only another way of confessing that when victorious analysis has mapped out the whole of man's mental powers, it discovers, to its dismay, that there are regions in his nature to which it cannot penetrate, but which it is fatal for either science or philosophy to leave out of the account. These obscure and fundamentally important elements in human nature are now being more closely studied than ever before, and the shallowness and futility of the sneers which the very mention of them evoked fifty years ago is more clearly seen. The deep-lying intuitions of the soul, the constructive imagination as a faculty which transcends, without contradicting, the phenomena and conclusions of ordinary experience, are now understood to be of vital importance in the study of man.

Has philosophy any mode of speech by which it can address this part of man's nature? It is recognized that one function of poetry is to exercise a charm which is beyond analysis, but which depends on subtle associations of feeling, operating in connexion with the highest Reason, as the overtones in the vibration of a bell accompany, and give a characteristic tone or quality to its dominant musical note. It is recognized also that the Vision, or impassioned imaginative flight of the prophet, has always been a potent factor in bringing home to men's hearts those sublime realities of religion which the understanding is too puny to grasp, and the ordinary vocabulary of life too poor to express. One mode, however, there is of embodying and conveying transcendental truth, the full importance of which has until lately largely escaped notice, on account of the misleading associations which gather round the word employed to describe it. The function of Myth in philosophy and religion is now being vindicated; the study of comparative religion has shed much light upon it, and a truer appreciation of facts is gradually freeing the word from that element of triviality

and falsehood which has obscured its real function and value.

What is Myth? The word is used in various senses, which need to be distinguished. In popular usage it means simply an invented story, one which is, by its very definition, imaginary, fabulous, untrue. In the more careful language of ethnology it is confined to early traditions concerning gods or heroes, which have grown up unconsciously, in which the operations of natural forces, or the operations of human history, are represented as the result of the action of superhuman beings, or in which the origin of the world and the rise of races and institutions are traced by early and spontaneous legend to fictitious extra-human causes. All definitions agree, or ought to agree, that the myth is essentially a Tale—any beliefs of the kind described which are not cast in the narrative form do not come into the category. Further, in form it is 'untrue'; in the sense, that is, of not being, and not professing to be, strictly accurate history. There may have been a time when the story was accounted true, or rather, when the question of 'truth,' in a later technical sense, had never been raised. The naïve unconsciousness of tribe or race may have accepted it without thought of investigation; or, from the outset, the element of imagination may have been recognized as attaching to the form in which it was cast. The child of to-day will sometimes accept the pleasing fiction prefixed by 'Once upon a time' from mere love of a story, without raising even in his own mind the question whether it is true or not; or the wisdom of childhood may perceive without argument what the more mature but shallower man will not accept at any price, namely, that 'make-believe' may be 'truer' than fact.

An element of underlying truth must, however, be present in the myth if it is to have any permanent value in philosophy or religion. Sometimes myths represent attempts to explain the origins of things, and then they correspond to primitive 'science.' Sometimes the legends which embody them constitute for a considerable period all that a tribe or nation

possesses of 'history.' Sometimes they are frankly and wholly imaginative, not possessing a meaning or pointing a moral, but loved for their own sake, as children love fairy tales and the wisest 'grown-ups' have not outgrown a delight in pure romance. Sometimes these stories are popular, they spring up instinctively and unconsciously amongst a people at an early stage of development—and this constitutes the proper meaning of the word. But sometimes conscious invention plays a part in the process of story-telling, though even then the traditional element must not be entirely excluded. Experience shows that the Myth proper cannot be wholly a manufactured article.

Myth may be distinguished from allegory, parable, fable, symbol, legend, and illustrative story. The distinction usually drawn between myth and allegory is that the former consists of unconsciously formed common tradition containing thought which is latent below the surface, while allegory is invented to embody conscious and clearly recognized thought already present to the mind of the writer. It is one thing to take a story that has grown like a tree through generations and find in it a meaning, but quite another to construct a story only intended to illustrate an idea. Fable, as employed in literature, has this in common with allegory, that it is devised to convey a moral, but its form is obviously false, or irrational, or impossible. Legend is a wider word, including traditions of all kinds—a genus of which myth is a species. The parable is a short story moving in the region of the possible and probable, intended to reflect spiritual truth or inculcate moral duty, but in itself constituting a picture with a significance and beauty of its own.

This somewhat tedious introduction appeared to be necessary in order to prepare the way for an examination into the myths of Plato—a subject with a far more direct bearing upon religion than might at first sight appear. The fact that a great master of dialectic like Plato should have made such free use of myth has hardly received the attention it deserves. Whole libraries have been written on his philosophy, but it should not be forgotten that he who, with 'large-

browed Verulam,' ranks among 'the first of those who know,' not only elected the vehicle of myth to convey a portion of his teaching, but has committed to its care some of his highest and deepest lessons. Books on 'mythology' abound, but the myths of Plato must not be confounded with folk-lore, and treatises on the special subject are rare. A short Latin tractate by Couturat, *De Platoniciis Mythis* (1896), contains a useful list of references and some suggestive remarks by the author. Platonists, like Grote and Jowett, treat briefly of the myths in their place; and Pater, in his *Plato and Platonism*, discourses to a wider audience. But these 'dreams of a poet, rather than of a philosopher,' as Jowett styles them, have hardly yet come by their own. The late Bishop Westcott's essay upon them, in his *Religious Thought in the West*, contains the condensed expression of ripe thinking, its few pages, indeed, being worth more than many a volume; but it remains an essay, brief, tentative, highly suggestive.

All the more hearty a welcome, therefore, may be given to Professor Stewart's work, which fills a gap, the existence of which one student of Plato at least has long felt. As regards its outline, the plan could hardly be improved upon. The body of the book consists of a collection of the chief myths, about twelve in number, the Greek being given on one side of the page, and on the other an original translation, prepared with care, so as to preserve as far as possible the atmosphere of the original. To these is prefixed a full Introduction of about eighty pages, giving the author's view of the scope and meaning of the myths, and an examination of Plato's ideas of God and the soul, his relation to Orphic traditions, &c. At the end of each chapter are appended notes by the author, dwelling more fully on points of interpretation, and showing the relation of the myths to other kindred literature, ranging from Philo and Dante to Bunyan and Wordsworth. A concluding essay deals with the interesting group of writers known as the Cambridge Platonists, a sample of the influence of the ancient philosopher's teaching upon the modern world.

It is good to meet with such a guide in such a field.

Plato, as a seer, is too little studied. Dr. Westcott says, very truly, that his myths are not detached, slight, careless compositions, but that they constitute one whole. 'They are not, in essence, simply graceful embellishments of an argument, but venturesome essays after truth, embodiments of definite instincts. . . . They are truly philosophic, because they answer to innate wants of man; they are truly poetic because they are in thought creative.' Only from this point of view, it seems to us, can they be rightly understood. They are individual utterances of a genius who was prophet as well as philosopher. Like Shakespeare, he took his materials largely from earlier traditional sources, but he used the plastic power of his own imagination, both as regards the form in which the earlier material is presented and the stamp which he gives to it by additions of his own. Westcott's definition runs thus: 'A Platonic myth is, in short, a possible material representation of a speculative doctrine, which is affirmed by instinct, but not capable of being established by a scientific process. The myth is itself the doctrine so far as it is at present capable of apprehension by men.' The value of Professor Stewart's book is that it presents us in detail with the materials for judging of the truth of this definition. His own position, closely akin to that of Westcott, may be briefly described. Plato in his *Dialogues* is essentially a dramatist, but while the chief 'action' consists of argumentative conversation, from time to time another element is introduced which is equally essential to his philosophical style.

The Myth is a fanciful tale, sometimes traditional, sometimes newly invented . . . an organic part of the Platonic Drama, not an added ornament. . . . When the brisk debate is silenced for a while, and Socrates or some other great interlocutor opens his mouth in Myth, the movement of the philosophic drama is not arrested, but is being sustained, at a crisis, on another plane. The Myth bursts in upon the Dialogue with a revelation of something new and strange; the narrow, matter-of-fact, work-a-day experience which the argumentative conversation puts in evidence, is suddenly flooded, as it were, and transfused by the inrush of a vast experience,

as from another world—'Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.'

These compositions represent a great belief, not a make-believe. They have no 'moral.' When a later age changes them into transparent allegories, they cease to be interesting; here, as elsewhere, rationalism is destructive, not only of sentiment, but of truth. But there stand out amongst the myths of the world some which no mordant rationalism has been able to destroy. These, if rightly understood and interpreted, are fruitful for all time.

The interpretation of a masterpiece of imagination, to be fruitful, must be psychological. . . . Fruitful interpretation of a masterpiece of creative imagination will consist in showing the mind of its maker, and in so placing his creation before our own minds by means of some accompaniment or rendering—some parallel corroborative appeal to imagination and feeling—that it does for us in our age what it did for him in his age, making us pause in the midst of our work-a-day life, as he paused in the midst of his, filled 'with admiration and deep muse, to hear of things so high and strange.'

According to Professor Stewart, as well as Dr. Westcott, and all sympathetic students of the subject, Plato appeals in his myths 'to that major part of man's nature which is not articulate and logical, but feels and wills and acts. . . . It is good, Plato will have us believe, to appeal sometimes from the world of the senses and scientific understanding, which is "too much with us," to this deep-lying part of human nature, as to an oracle.' The name given by Professor Stewart to this part of our nature is Transcendental Feeling—'at once the solemn sense of Timeless Being—of that which was and is and ever shall be overshadowing us—and the conviction that Life is good.' Whilst Empirical Feelings, like the objects which arouse them, are *a posteriori* data of consciousness, empirically received, Transcendental Feeling 'is not a dative of conscious experience . . . it is already involved in consciousness, it is the *a priori* condition of conscious activity.' In the Platonic Myth 'we assist at a Vision in which the wide-awake life of our ordinary ex-

periences and doings is seen as an act in a vast drama of the creation and consummation of all things.' It regulates Transcendental Feeling 'for the service of conduct and science.' Professor Stewart holds that it is in this Feeling, 'manifested normally as Faith in the Value of Life, and ecstatically as sense of Timeless Being, and not in thought proceeding by way of speculative construction, that consciousness comes nearest to the object of metaphysics, Ultimate Reality.'¹ Conceptual solutions are not satisfactory solutions of ultimate problems. An imaginative solution of the right kind brings us nearer to ultimate realities, often as near to that elusive goal as in our present state we are capable of attaining.

The mark of a true Platonic Myth, says Professor Stewart in another place, 'is that it sets forth the *a priori* elements in man's experience. An illustrative story or allegory, as such, merely makes easier and more pleasant the task of receiving and recalling *a posteriori* data. . . . It is of the very essence of a Myth to represent as having a history in time what in itself is out of time. The Soul, which is the subject of all experience in time, is mythologically set forth as an Object or Thing whose creation, incarnation and earthly life, disembodied state and penance, reincarnation and final purification or damnation, can be traced as events in time. How absurd to draw inferences from the chronology of such a history! . . . It is indeed no easy matter always to remember that a Myth is a Myth.'²

In his high appreciation of this particular vehicle of Platonic teaching, Mr. Stewart does not stand alone. Grote discusses the matter both in the Introduction to his *History of Greece* and in his *Plato and the Companions of Socrates*. In the former he shows that the popular myth partakes of the nature partly of history, partly of philosophy, partly of religious faith, and his words may be understood, *mutatis mutandis*, of the Platonic Mythe (as he prefers to call it). Jowett tells us truly that no one can understand Plato who

¹ See pp. 39, 42, 44.

² See pp. 221, 228.

does not sympathize with his mysticism, which is not 'the extravagance of an erring fancy, but the concentration of reason into feeling, the enthusiastic love of the good and true, the sense of the infinity of knowledge and the marvels of the human faculties.' Westcott's opinion has already been quoted, but we may add the following striking sentences: 'In bold and vigorous outlines, they offer a philosophy of nature, a philosophy of history, and a philosophy of life, deformed, it may be, by crude speculations in physics, and cramped by imperfect knowledge and a necessarily narrow sphere of observation, but yet always inspired by the spirit of a divine life. . . . In form, in subject, in the splendour of their imagery, and in the range of their application, they form, if we may so speak, a Hellenic Apocalypse.'

This is high, but hardly excessive praise. The estimate of these competent judges is borne out and illustrated by Professor Stewart's fascinating volume, and the fuller examination he has pursued into a subject that is not yet exhausted. Under his guidance we may pluck some flowers—amaranth, asphodel, and moly—from an ancient but attractive garden.

It is difficult to make a brief selection of passages which will give a fair idea of the whole. Professor Stewart, with most authorities, subdivides the myths into (1) simply Anthropological; (2) Aetiological, as in the *Politicus* and the *Protagoras*—this class including Cosmological, Foundation, and Cultus myths; and (3) Eschatological myths, such as those in the *Phaedo*, the *Gorgias*, and the story of Er in the *Republic*. The well-known similitude of the Cave is not reckoned by Mr. Stewart amongst the myths. He classes it, together with the famous apologue of the Disorderly Crew,¹ as an allegory, though he admits that 'there is much more to be seen there than the mere purpose of the Allegory requires.' But the classification given above seems to us very soon to break down, the divisions overlap

¹ The two allegories are found in the *Republic* 532 B, C, and 488 A ff.

and become confused. At a later stage, and in another connexion, Professor Stewart distinguishes between myths according to the ways in which they appeal to transcendental feeling: (1) by representing ideals, and (2) by tracing faculties back to their origins. Dr. Westcott draws a distinction between (1) those which deal with problems of the Cosmos, its origin and destiny, and (2) those which are concerned with the individual. But none of these lines of classification can be carried very far, or pressed very closely. Like a true artist, Plato in all his dialogues avoids that formal symmetry in which the precisian delights. He perpetually evades ultimate definition and analysis; and when he seems to have brought his readers to a conclusion in one dialogue, he straightway writes another which not all the ingenuity of generations of commentators can reconcile with its predecessor. He sees life whole, as does the dramatist, and though he deals with abstractions, he is not, like most philosophers, their slave. And of all forms of teaching, myths, by reason of their very nature, disdain the rigid ordering of a mechanical system of arrangement.

Still we may say broadly that Plato's myths are concerned with the great questions of the origin and destiny of the universe and of man, with human life on earth only so far as it is related to the eternal—questions of Providence, Divine Government, Fate, and Free-will, with Immortality, Judgement, and Life beyond the grave as the august and dominant background to every picture. Ethics may be touched upon, but not in detail; such questions are to be decided by dialectical methods in argumentative conversation. Physics are included—the whole of the *Timaeus* is an illustration of this—but only in relation to cosmogony and the world-order. Light is shed upon the constitution of man, but not as the psychologist or physiologist would deal with him; the Myth touches upon that part of his nature which lies beyond nature, beyond the limits which the positivist would make ultimate, but which man could never be conscious of, did he not himself transcend them. Briefly, the myths of Plato deal with God, the World, and the Soul

viewed *sub specie eternitatis*, and all his teaching on these transcendental themes is conveyed through myth and not through dialectic. Our first example shall be taken from the *Gorgias*. We follow Professor Stewart's translation, that our readers may see how by an archaic style he aims at preserving the tone of the legend, but we are compelled somewhat to condense and abbreviate.

Hearken now to an excellent True Story; a Fable, methinks thou wilt deem it; but I deem it no Fable, for that the things are true whereof I will now tell, I am fully persuaded. What Homer telleth, that will I now tell: that Zeus and Poseidon and Pluto divided amongst them the kingdom, when they had received it from their father Cronus. Now in his time there was this law among the Gods concerning men, which standeth fast to this day as of old, that the man who hath gone through his life righteously in the fear of the Gods, after death goeth to the Isles of the Blessed, and dwelleth there in all felicity beyond the touch of ill; but the man who hath lived unrighteously without the fear of the Gods before his eyes, he goeth to the prison-house of just retribution, which men call Tartarus. . . . Wherefore when they from Asia are come before the presence of Rhadamanthys their Judge, he causeth them to stand [stripped of their bodies before him], and looketh at the Soul of each, not knowing whose Soul it is; but perchance having gotten hold of the Soul of the Great King, or of some other King or Ruler, perceiveth that it hath no soundness, but is seamed with the marks of many stripes, and full of the scars of perjuries and unrighteousness, according as the doings of each have stamped on his Soul their signs. And all therein is crooked by reason of falsehood and boasting, and nothing straight, because he hath been bred up without truth; and by reason of pride and luxury and wantonness and incontinency in his life, his Soul is altogether deformed and foul. This Soul then the Judge seeth, and having seen, sendeth with dishonour straightway unto the prison, whither it must go and endure the torments appointed for it. Now it is appointed for every one who is punished, if he be punished righteously by another, either to become better and himself receive benefit, or to be set forth for an example unto others, that they, seeing his torments, may fear and become better. Now they who are profited the while they pay unto Gods and Men the penalty of their sins, are they whose sins may be cured. Through afflictions and pains there cometh unto them profit both here and in the

House of Hades; for otherwise can no man be rid of unrighteousness. . . . Perchance this shall seem to thee as an old wives' fable, and thou wilt despise it; well mightest thou despise it, if by searching we could find out aught better and truer. . . . Nay, of all sayings this saying alone is not confuted, but abideth sure: That a man must shun the doing of wrong more than the receiving, and study above all things not to seem, but to be, righteous in the doing of his own business and the business of the city; and that if any man be found evil in anything, he is to be corrected; and that the next good thing after being righteous is to become righteous through correction and just retribution; and that all flattery of himself and of other men, be they few or many, he must eschew; and that he must use Oratory and all other Instruments of Doing (*τῇ ἄλλῃ πάσῃ πράξει*) for the sake of Justice alway.

An old wives' fable this story of Socrates may well be considered if his words are to be interpreted literally, and he is understood as teaching that one day men will literally look upon visible souls marked with scars and stripes and foul stains through ill deeds done in the body. Merely fabulous, again, is the form of the story for rationalists who allegorize and refine it away till its force and meaning have evaporated. It is so easy to forget that the myth is a myth. But for sympathetic and intelligent disciples who bear in mind that in the Ancient Tale the philosopher is setting forth eternal truth under the forms of space and time, in order to move men's hearts and enable them to perceive

Those shadowy recollections,
Which, be they what they may,
Are yet the fountain light of all our day,
Are yet a master light of all our seeing:
Uphold us, cherish, and have power to make
Our noisy years seem moments in the being
Of the Eternal Silence: truths that wake,
To perish never:

—for such hearers and readers the Myth will have answered its end, nor will they 'despise it,' knowing that they cannot 'find out aught better and truer.'

The story of Er the Pamphylian, told in the *Republic*, ranks amongst the first of those fictions which are 'truer'

than many facts. The picture of the Souls is graphically portrayed. 'Some were coming up from the Earth, travel-stained, covered with dust, and some coming down from Heaven, pure'; all of them, 'being come belike from a long journey (*ὡς περ ἐκ πολλῆς πορείας*), turned aside with joy into the Meadow and encamped there as a Congregation,' acquaintances greeting each other, travellers from heaven and travellers from earth questioning with one another concerning their journey 'of a thousand years'; but the story cannot be transferred entire to these pages. The full account also of the Spindle of Necessity, 'which causeth all the revolutions of heaven and earth,' must be sought in the original. But the problem how to reconcile Necessity with Free-will, which has baffled all the logicians and dialecticians since the world was, is solved with ease by the Myth.

Round about are three others seated at equal distances apart, each upon a throne; these be the daughters of Necessity, the Fates, Lachesis and Clotho and Atropos. They are clothed in white raiment and have garlands on their heads, and they chant to the melody of the Sirens: Lachesis chanteth of the things that have been, and Clotho of the things that are, and Atropos of the things that shall be. And Clotho with her right hand ever and anon taketh hold of the outer round of the spindle, and helpeth to turn it; and Atropos with her left hand doeth the same with the inner rounds; and Lachesis with either hand taketh hold of outer and inner alternately.

Now . . . it behoved the Souls straightway to go unto Lachesis. Wherefore a prophet did first marshal them in order; and then having taken lots out of the lap of Lachesis and Ensamples of Lives (*κλήρους τε καὶ βιωῶν παραδείγματα*), went up into a high pulpit and said: Thus saith Necessity's Daughter, Maid Lachesis—Souls of a day, now beginneth another course of earthly life which bringeth death. For you your Angels will not cast lots, to get you, but each one of you shall choose his Angel (*δαίμων*). Let him to whom falleth the first turn first choose the Life unto which he shall be bound of necessity. But Virtue hath no master. As a man honoureth her, so shall he have more of her and less. He who hath chosen shall answer for it. God is not answerable.

The story of the choice of the Souls—'a pitiful sight and a laughable and a wonderful'—especially of the choice of the

Soul of Odysseus who came last, 'having found the life of a quiet, private man lying somewhere despised of the others,' and when she saw it, said, 'Had I come first, I would have done the same, and took it with great joy'—cannot be told here. But the end of all must be told.

This is my counsel. Let us believe that the Soul is immortal, and able to bear all ill and all good, and let us always keep to the upward way, and practise justice in all things with understanding, that we may be friends both with ourselves and with the Gods, both whilst we sojourn here and when we receive the prizes of our justice, like unto the Conquerors at the Games which go about gathering their wages; and that both here and in the journey of a thousand years of which I told, we may fare well.

Ah, that 'journey of a thousand years'! Who will suppose that it lasts ten centuries, in which each year consists of 365½ days? Who that is not utterly dull of heart can fail to catch in the Ancient Tale a sound such as the boy hears in the sea-shell placed to his ear, when 'it remembers its august abodes, and murmurs as the ocean murmurs there'? The Greek seer echoes the Hebrew prophet. He utters a voice which quickens the imagination, probes the conscience, and sounds with ever-reverberating note in the ear of the soul. For, with the breadth of the whole world between them, the soul of the old Greek is of one kindred with that of the modern Englishman. It was at Athens that the words were spoken, 'He hath made *of one* every nation of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.' Both Hellene and Teuton 'feel through all this earthly dress bright shoots of everlastingness'; both instinctively recognize, amidst all that is sordid and evil and transient in human life, the note of high capacity and eternal significance which belongs to it, as expressed in the closing words of the *Phaedo* myth, καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἄλλοι καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς μεγάλη, 'the prize is fair and the hope is great.' Or, as Wordsworth put it—

When nature sinks, as oft she may . . .
Still to be strenuous for the bright reward,
And in the soul admit of no decay . . .
Great is the glory, for the strife is hard!

Space will permit of only one other extract. In the *Phaedrus*, after Socrates has delivered a speech in dispraise of love, he rises to go away, but is stopped by his δαιμόνιον, or Familiar Spirit, and stays awhile to recant his blasphemies. He speaks at length of the divine madness of love—inspiration, genius, or religious exaltation—which is a genuine gift of God. Towards the end of his address he breaks forth as into a hymn, in the noble myth which describes the birth and growth of Love Indeed, 'the nisus of the Soul after the True, the Beautiful, and the Good—in one word, Philosophy.' He describes the Soul as 'like unto a Power composite of two winged Horses harnessed, and a Charioteer.' In man one of these horses is well favoured and good, the other is of evil stock and himself evil. The chariots of the gods move lightly and easily in that 'Place which is above the Heaven, that no poet hath ever praised, nor shall praise, worthily.' Some other souls—'whosoever followeth God best'—are permitted in that high Place to behold the Things Which Are. Others are as yet only seekers after Justice Itself, Truth Itself, Beauty Itself; but these, moved by strong Desire, do toil and strive upwards with inextinguishable longings after those Sacred Realities of which they have caught but a passing glimpse. The Charioteer in upward flight is sorely hindered by his unequal steeds.

Whereas at the beginning of this Tale we said that each Soul hath three parts—two thereof in the form of Horses, and the third part in the form of a Charioteer; so now we would have this remain as it was then told, and that one of the Horses is good and the other is not. . . . That one of the two which hath the more honourable station in form is straight and well-knit, with a high neck and an arched nose, in colour white, with black eyes, a lover of honour in all temperance and modesty, a friend of true glory, needing not the whip, being guided by the mere word of the charioteer. But the other horse is crooked, lumpish, ill-jointed, with a stiff neck, a short throat, a snub nose, in colour black, with grey eyes, sanguineous, a friend of lust and boastfulness, hairy about the ears, deaf, hardly submitting himself to the lash and the pricks. . . . At first the twain resist, taking it ill that they are constrained unto wickedness; but at the last, since their evil state hath no ending,

they go as the evil Horse leadeth, yielding themselves up and consenting to do what he biddeth. Moreover, now are they come near and see the countenance of the Beloved One gloriously shining. Which when the Charioteer seeth, his memory is straightway carried back unto the Form of the Eternal Beauty. Her he again beholdeth standing girt with temperance upon her holy pedestal; and beholding her, he is filled with fear and reverence, and falleth backward, and thereat must needs pull the reins back with force, so that he bringeth both the horses down upon their haunches—the one willingly, because that he resisteth not, but the lascivious one against his will altogether.

Are these stories true? What is meant by the question? True to historical fact, true in literal accomplishment, true as a revelation of unchanging principles of thought and life, or true to eternal realities? The answer that Plato would give is clear. At the end of the *Phaedo* myth, Socrates says that it would not become a reasonable man to affirm that the narrative is literally true as he told it (*δισχυρίσασθαι ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν, ὡς ἐγὼ διελήλυθα*), but 'something of the kind is true.' And whilst in the *Republic* he speaks of the 'needful falsehoods,' the 'just one royal lie' which is necessary to get truth believed and justice done, and in the *Phaedrus* it is said that Socrates can 'easily invent tales of Egypt or of any other country,' there is ample evidence that the myths were to be understood as true, not as regards their form, but in their substance. Professor Stewart holds, that as with children, so with men, it is all-important to have good stories to tell them. 'They are to be told what is literally false, in order that they may get hold of what is spiritually true. . . . Plato hopes for good from Myth, as from some great Ritual at which thinkers may assist, and feel that there are mysteries which the scientific understanding cannot fathom.' But the power is given only to one genius in the course of a millennium to set forth eternal truth in the guise of a story so that it shall delude no one and move the imagination of mankind. The artless art with which Plato interweaves ancient traditions with the science of his own day, and fuses the whole into a Tale such as will entice the child from his play and the old man from the chimney corner, goes at least as far to

make him immortal as the skill with which he displays his superb command of the subtlest and noblest language of history, in order to ply his inimitable dialectic and build up his stately philosophic periods.

Our interest for the moment lies not so much in Plato's philosophy as in the mode of teaching by myth, of which he furnishes a palmary illustration. It is far removed from the system of 'allegorizing' which has done so much mischief in the history of interpretation. Bacon, in his 'Wisdom of the Ancients,' tells us that upon deliberate consideration, 'my judgement is that a concealed instruction and allegory was originally intended in many of the ancient fables.' Nothing of the kind. The stories of Cassandra and Narcissus, of Prometheus and Cupid and Psyche, are not 'fables,' neither do they contain that abomination, 'concealed instruction.' Philo made a similar mistake when he called the story of Eden 'fabulous nonsense,' interpreting it of 'terrestrial virtue in the human race,' just as he refines away the stories of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob to mean no more than 'virtue acquired by learning, innate virtue, and virtue acquired by struggle.' The seer is a seer because he sees visions which in and of themselves move and sway and purify the beholder, bringing him into contact with truth, which no scientific methods can reach, and which the artificial 'moral' drawn from a story altogether fails to convey.

We are not intended to go behind the picture. But has the picture no meaning? Ask the question of the artist, if you would exasperate him to the utmost. The picture *is* the meaning. Tennyson, when asked to interpret the 'Idylls of the King,' and to say whether the three queens with King Arthur were Faith, Hope, and Charity, was justly angry. 'I hate to be tied down to say, *This means that*, because the thought within the image is much more than any one interpretation.' Once when Schubert had played a sonata, a bystander exclaimed, '*Wunderschön!* What does it mean?' The artist played the music over again: 'That is what it means.' Let a myth be a myth, a living plant, not a dried and etiolated specimen in a herbarium.

As Professor Stewart says: 'The responses of the oracle are not given in articulate language which the scientific understanding can interpret. . . . Their ultimate meaning is the "feeling" which fills us in beholding the visions; and when we awake from them, we see our daily concerns, and all things temporal, with purged eyes.'

Wherein lies the secret of the ability to achieve this end worthily and well? Who can say? In what lies the magic of the best poetry, the few immortal lines that cause the eyes to fill and the heart to overflow, that charm the ear and change the very atmosphere we breathe? In what choice of words, what melody of tones, what linked sweetness of phrase, what subtle suggestion of epithet, does the secret lie? Turn to Wordsworth in his inspired moments, or to the well-known lines of Keats:

Perhaps the self-same song that found a path
Through the sad heart of Ruth, when, sick for home,
She stood in tears amid the alien corn;
The same that oft-times hath
Charmed magic casements, opening on the foam
Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn.

If critics object that the familiar charm of poetry is a subject very remotely connected with the influence of myth, we cannot agree, and we must refer them to Professor Stewart. In his Introduction he illustrates his subject by quoting at length certain sonnets of Dante, Shelley's 'Adonais,' Whitman's 'When Lilacs last in the Door-yard bloomed,' and other verses, in order to show how the Mythos, like all the best poetry, produces its characteristic effect by inducing 'an atmosphere of solemn feeling, spreading out into the waking consciousness which follows.' Later on in his book he says: 'The Universal of Poetry is that which does for the poet's interesting story or picture what "knowledge of the Good" does for the objects of conduct: it is *ὁλν τὸ φῶς*, as it were a Light, in which they are bathed and altered—an atmosphere of solemn elemental feeling through which we see the representations of Poetry, as we see the presentations of social life, its claims and temptations,

through the medium of the Sense of Duty. To feel of a sudden that there is surely an eternal world behind, or within, the temporal world of particular items, is to experience the *κάθαρσις* which Poetry—one among other agencies—effects in us.¹

It is to Dante, Spenser, and Bunyan that we should specially turn, if we wished to illustrate the power of Myth. The fact that each of these writers largely employs allegory interferes but little with the fascination of the *Divina Commedia*, 'greatest of all myths,' the *Faërie Queene*, and the *Pilgrim's Progress*. To these we turn, and not to Plotinus and the New Platonists. The latter were, it is true, influenced not so much by Plato the reasoner, as by Plato the seer. But they deserted the method of their master, and accordingly lost themselves and their followers in endless speculation, 'pinnacled dim in the intense inane.' Hence the *Enneads* have been almost forgotten, while the influence of the *Phaedo* and the *Phaedrus* has been felt down the generations and the ages.

The extent to which Dante was influenced by Plato has been made the subject of more than one instructive essay. Though he only mentions one dialogue, the *Timæus*, by name, he often refers to the philosopher himself. Mr. Toynbee, in his *Dante Dictionary*, enumerates eighteen such references, and describes at length the speculations—such as that the souls of men abide in the stars—in which the great mediaeval poet has adopted Platonic ideas. But these do not now concern us. The spell of the *Commedia* lies chiefly in the mastery of Myth which the poet displays. Facts of history, doctrines of divinity, theories of philosophy, man's duties and destiny, his hopes and fears, are all interwoven into the fabric of the poem with consummate skill. Use is made in a thousand forms of symbol, metaphor, allegory, legend, and dream; but an informing spirit gives unity and permanence to the poem, because genius, guided by religion, has vitalized the whole into one immortal Myth.

¹ Op. cit., pp. 384, 388.

It is a picture, a story, it appeals to the imagination, it touches the fount of feeling, sometimes by a skilful use of detail, but always with a sense of the mighty whole in the background. 'The end and purpose of the *Commedia*,' says Dean Church, 'is to produce on the mind a sense of the judgments of God, analogous to that produced by Scripture itself. . . . It is like one of those great musical compositions which alone seem capable of adequately expressing, in a limited time, a course of unfolding and change, in an idea, a career, a life, a society—where one great thought predominates, recurs, gives colour and meaning, and forms the unity of the whole, yet passes through many shades and transitions; it is at one time definite, at another suggestive and mysterious; incorporating and giving free place and play to airs and melodies even of an alien cast; striking off abruptly from its expected road, but without ever losing itself, without breaking its true continuity, or failing of its completeness.' The dominating thought of the poem and the unique form in which it was enshrined, were Dante's own, but the method was not new, for Plato had preceded him in the Myth; and as long as man remains what he is, its lessons will never grow old.

Bunyan knew nothing either of Plato or Dante, but how analogous his method is to theirs, there is little need to point out. Not by the use of allegorical names and ingenious adaptations of Scripture is the charm wrought. These do but help occasionally to break the spell of the magician, which does indeed often fail in the *Holy War*. When the allegorical element overpowers the mythical, we lose sight of the story which touches imagination and feeling, and instead of being moved by its magic, we find our understandings assailed by pale and ghostlike abstractions which belong to shadowland. The method of the bard and seer are illustrated equally in Plato's 'Prisoners bound in the Cave, and gazing at shadows cast by the great Fire burning,' in Dante's '*selva selvaggia ed aspra e forte*,' and in the immortal words of the ignorant 'braseyer' and inspired dreamer in Bedford Gaol. 'As I walked through the wilder-

ness of this world, I lighted on a certain place where was a den, and laid me down in that place to sleep; and as I slept, I dreamed a dream. I dreamed and behold, I saw a man clothed with rags standing in a certain place, with his face from his own house, a book in his hand, and a great burden upon his back. I looked and saw him open the book, and read therein; and as he read, he wept and trembled; and not being able longer to contain, he brake out with a lamentable cry, saying, What shall I do?’

We must not now turn to the ‘Faërie Queene,’ nor to those ‘Hymns of Heavenly Love and Beautie,’ in which Spenser shows the influence of Plato the seer. Allegory too often dims the clear vision of the Elizabethan poet, and its weary complexities, long drawn out, have prevented him from gaining the ear of the multitude, and from fully retaining the attention of true disciples. But the ‘poets’ poet’ has summed up in a few lines—familiar through their being inscribed round the dome of the Royal Academy in London—the method of his master, Plato, and of all who in a world of shadows would reveal the significance of eternal realities:

That with the glory of so goodly sight

The hearts of men which fondly here admyre

Faire seeming shewes, and feed on vaine delight,

Transported with celestiall desyre

Of those faire formes, may lift themselves up higher,

And learn to love, with zealous humble duty,

The eternall fountaine of that heavenly beauty.

Of the substance of Plato’s myths we have too briefly spoken. Of their flaws and failures, of the pagan superstitions and follies by which they are darkened and encumbered, and the glimpses of higher light which have caused others besides Ackermann to find a ‘Christian element in Plato,’ little or nothing has been said. We have been occupied with one of the philosopher’s methods and its permanent influence in the education of mankind. It is impossible, however, to forget that Plato helped to prepare the way for a doctrine better than his own, one which provided the substance of which he had only seen the shadow.

In spite of the foul blots that mar the beauty and stain the purity of the *Symposium*, it is impossible to help being moved by the myth embodied in the discourse of Diotima and her account of the birth of that Love which is 'the desire of having the Good always for one's own.' It is impossible to resist the appeal with which it closes, asking whether 'it would be a paltry life for man to live,' looking ever for Beauty itself in its divine perfection. For 'thus only shall he be able to bring forth not Images of Virtue, for 'tis no image that he layeth hold of, but Virtue and Truth itself. And when he hath brought forth True Virtue, understandest thou not that then he hath become above all men beloved of God and immortal!'

The heathen philosopher strove in vain after that which may be attained by the Christian child. He longed for spiritual truth and beauty and righteousness such as no mere philosophy has ever been able to impart, but which One who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life has brought near to the children of men—not to the wise and prudent, but to the humble and meek. Still, however, does Plato in his higher moods stand nobly representative of those who strive upwards; and, like Spenser nearly two thousand years afterwards, he bids his 'hungry soul' to cease gazing on the false beauties and vain shadows of earth and flesh:

And looke at last up to that Soveraine Light
From whose pure beams al perfect beauty springs,
That kindleth love in every godly spright,
Even the love of God: which loathing brings
Of this vile world and these gay-seeming things;
With whose sweete pleasures being so possesst,
Thy straying thoughts henceforth for ever rest.

W. T. DAVISON.

HAWKER OF MORWENSTOW.

The Life and Letters of R. S. Hawker (sometime Vicar of Morwenstow). By his Son-in-Law, C. E. BYLES. (John Lane. 1905.)

ROMANTIC to the last—such was the life of Robert Stephen Hawker, vicar of Morwenstow. In his sixty-second year he wrote to an intimate friend: 'What a life mine would be if it were all written and published in a book!' and, again, 'What a subtle and intricate mechanism is the human frame, and mine the most astonishing and fearful!'

'Mr. Hawker, what are your views and opinions?' an inquisitive tourist asked him one day. 'There,' he replied, 'is Hennacliff, the highest cliff on this coast, on the right; the church on the left; the Atlantic Ocean in the middle. These are my views. My opinions I keep to myself.' This was but humorous resentment at what he regarded as mere idle curiosity. Hawker did not keep his opinions to himself, though, undoubtedly, they were so expressed that it is impossible to systematize them with exactness. It is often difficult to know whether he is speaking as a theologian or a poet, and it is always well to remember that his theology is inseparable from his poetry. Not seldom facts and legends were alike to him, and he did not seem to distinguish between realities and his own imaginings. Perhaps no Englishman of his day could realize the unreal as he could, or get so much that was satisfying out of what existed solely in the imagination. Moreover, he was not altogether jesting when he said he agreed with O'Connell that no man could be called inconsistent unless he adopted two conflicting opinions at the same time—'if he allows five minutes to intervene . . . then he is

only contrasting his sentiments to avoid monotony, which is always vapid and tiresome.' His biographer well says that a temperament like Hawker's was peculiarly liable to veer, now east, now west, with every wind of impulse. He would take different sides at different times, and with equal vehemence. He was a perplexing compound of apparently quite incongruous elements.

It is also unquestionably true that Hawker belonged not merely to a generation that had passed, but to an old order that had been changed. He never took the impress of what he himself called 'the smoothing-iron of the nineteenth century,' but (again in his own words, as applied to the Cornish clergy of an earlier age) 'became developed about middle life into an original mind and man, sole and absolute within his parish boundary, eccentric when compared with his brethren in civilized regions, and yet, in German phrase, "a whole and seldom man," in his dominion of souls.' He lamented that the taste of England was not then towards antiquity; declared oracularly that the Englishman of the day was but 'a dexterous Blacksmith, to whom the Demons have surrendered their myths of Gas, Steam, and Electric Force'; and with approval quoted the saying, that for every hundred miles a man lived from London he must reckon himself a century back from his own date, and asserted that they, the people of Morwenstow, were therefore at that time in the year 1610 in all that related to agriculture and civilization. A visitor to Morwenstow, towards the end of Hawker's time, wrote of the life there as a bit of seventeenth-century England intercalated with the latter half of the nineteenth. But the Middle Ages would have been more congenial to Hawker than even the Stuart Period. Not simply is the *locale* of his mind indicated by such an opinion as 'Only a King anointed with oil can declare or levy lawful war': his thought and practice were out of harmony with the spirit of his age and found fellowship only in antiquity. He was a character about whom an Elizabethan dramatist would have written with unflagging verve. We search his life in vain for anything that might be tinged

with modern colour. The discoveries, the inventions, all the progress of the modern world were abhorrent to him. His 'Quest of the Sangraal' clearly showed that his faith and sympathies were of mediaeval times. It is not to be wondered at that a favoured and long-standing correspondent of Hawker's should refer to him as 'one born some five hundred years too late—a thoroughly mediaeval and Dantesque mind.'

Such was Hawker's life in all its phases that no more fitting place for it in the England of the past generation could well be imagined than the north-east of Cornwall, wind-swept and secluded, with black forbidding coasts and towering cliffs and mighty seas, and a tradition for every rock and combe and kieve—part of Arthur's land, with the gaunt crest of Tintagel, and with the shrines of old and unremembered saints and the legends and superstitions of ages. For forty years Hawker seldom—and then with regret—crossed his parish boundary—'severed from the World and all Friends and acquaintances except my Rooks and Daws'; 'twenty-five miles from a town or bookseller, with neither mail, road, nor train; nor even carrier nearer than that; and only fastened to the far world by the fibre of a Daily Post, granted by Lord Lonsdale as a special compassion to my loneliness. But then I have the Severn Sea for my lawn; and cliffs, the height of the Great Pyramid, build me in.' Henceforth the names of Hawker and Morwenstow can never be disjoined.

His father was a West-Country doctor, who afterwards became a clergyman; his grandfather, the famous Plymouth divine, Dr. Robert Hawker, who wrote *The Poor Man's Morning and Evening Portion*. Pulpit gifts were a family possession. Old Dr. Hawker acquired great popularity as a preacher; George III admired him, and used to test his powers by handing him a text just before he entered the pulpit. The quondam surgeon was credited with even superior eloquence, and the greatest intellectual treat he could give his congregation was to deliver them a sermon written by his son. This son, the vicar of Morwenstow,

inherited to the full these powers of impromptu and oratorical utterance.

Robert Stephen Hawker was born at Plymouth on the third of December, 1803. From his boyhood he was a 'character.' His early education was supposed to be directed by his grandfather, but the youngster's passion for practical joking compelled the old clergyman to get rid of him. Stratton, where his father was curate, keeps his holiday pranks among its traditions—'I've yeerd my vather tell many a time, as Mas'r Robert—that's what they used to call Passon Hawker in those days—was up to all manner of trecks: tukt the ball o' twine out o' the cordwainer's shop, and winded up the whole town in twine, so as people passin' along was pitched on their noses without zakly knowin' why.' The Stratton parish-clerk was one of the boy's victims. 'I doan't care whether I ring the bells on the king's birthday,' said he, 'but if I never touch the ropes again I'll give a peal when Robert goes to skule, and leaves Stratton folks in peace.' When the clerk read in church, 'I am an alien unto my mother's children,' he pronounced 'alien' as 'a lion.' 'Ah!' sighed the curate's wife, 'that means my Robert; he is verily a lion unto his mother's children.' From a Liskeard school he passed to a Plymouth solicitor's office, whence he was happily rescued and sent to Cheltenham Grammar School, where, when seventeen years old, he published a little volume of poetry, *Tendrils*, in which is to be found that love of legend and superstition so pronounced in his after life. A month before he was twenty, and only seven months after he became an Oxford undergraduate, he married a lady, forty-one years of age, residing near Bude. (His second wife was forty years younger than himself, and in each case the union was perfectly happy.) Mr. Baring-Gould's story that Hawker, having learnt that his father was unable to keep him at the university, ran, without waiting to put on his hat, from Stratton to Bude, arrived hot and blown and proposed marriage, and that the lady was Hawker's godmother and had taught him his letters, and that after marriage she went

with him to Oxford, riding on a pillion, may be dismissed as an ingenious fiction. At Oxford Hawker's chief friends were William Jacobson and Francis Jeune, who, respectively, became bishops of Chester and Peterborough, and his favourite haunt was the Bodleian.

His love of mischief showed no abatement in his young manhood. During the Long Vacation of 1825, his friend Jeune visited him in Cornwall, and one night they stayed together at a little inn at Bude. Early the following morning, before any one else was awake, they left their bed, and, going to all the pigsties in the place, released an army of porkers. Unperceived, the mischief-makers returned to the inn, but had not long to wait before the village was in an uproar. They shouted downstairs an inquiry as to the cause of the tumult. 'Why, they do say, captain,' was the landlady's doleful response, 'that all the pegs up-town have a-rebelled, and they've a-been, and let one the wother out, and they be all a-gwain to sea, hug-a-mug, bang!' When Hawker took his M.A. degree, Jeune was Dean of Magdalen Hall. Because of the crowd the dean had difficulty in conducting a corpulent gentleman-commoner of his college to the vice-chancellor to be capped. Hawker leaned forward as Jeune was endeavouring to guide his unwieldy charge, and whispered, 'Why, your peg's surely mazed, maister.' The dean was overcome with uncontrollable laughter when he reached the vice-chancellor's chair. Hawker's pleasure in fun remained to the last. Not long before his death he went over to Barnstaple with his wife to consult a doctor. They entered a confectioner's shop for refreshments. Nobody was there to serve them. Hawker slipped behind the counter, laid aside his hat, tied an apron round his capacious waist, and, to the amusement of his companions, gravely supplied tarts and buns to the customers!

During his undergraduate days he wrote the famous 'Song of the Western Men,' which so completely caught the echoes of the past that Sir Walter Scott in his *Poems*, Lord Macaulay in his *History*, and Charles Dickens in *Household*

Words accepted it as a genuine antique. But only the choral lines—

And shall Trelawny die?
Here's twenty thousand Cornish men
Will know the reason why!

were really old, having been, since the imprisonment by James the Second of the Seven Bishops, a popular proverb throughout Cornwall. 'The history of that Ballad is suggestive of my whole life,' wrote Hawker, thirty-eight years after. 'I published it first anonymously in a Plymouth paper. Everybody liked it. *It*, not myself, became popular. I was unnoted and unknown. . . . All these years the "Song" has been bought and sold, set to music and applauded, while I have lived on among these far-away rocks unprofited, unpraised, and unknown. This is an epitome of my whole life. Others have drawn profit from my brain, while I have been coolly relinquished to obscurity and unrequital and neglect.' It may be remarked that in 1827 Hawker won the Newdigate for a poem on Pompeii.

Little need be said of his life from his ordination in 1829 to his acceptance, in 1834, of the living of Morwenstow—the Stow or station of the Cornish saint, Morwenna. He tells us in his *Remembrances*—now in the delightful and inimitable *Footprints of Former Men in Far Cornwall*—that at Morwenstow 'I found myself the first resident vicar for more than a century. . . . So stern and pitiless is this iron-bound coast, that within the memory of one man upwards of eighty wrecks have been counted within a reach of fifteen miles, with only here and there the rescue of a living man. My people were a mixed multitude of smugglers, wreckers, and dissenters of various hue. A few simple-hearted farmers had clung to the grey old sanctuary of the church and the tower that looked along the sea; but the bulk of the people, in the absence of a resident vicar, had become the followers of the great preacher of the last century who came down into Cornwall and persuaded the people to alter their sins. . . . Here, like the Kenite, I had "built my nest upon a rock," and here my days were to glide away, afar from the noise and bustle

of the world, in that which is perhaps the most thankless office in every generation, the effort to do good against their will to our fellow men. Mine was a perilous warfare. If I had not, like the apostle, to "fight with wild beasts at Ephesus," I had to soothe the wrecker, to persuade the smuggler, and to "handle serpents" in my intercourse with adversaries of many a kind. Thank God! the promises which the clergy inherit from their Founder cannot fail to be fulfilled. It was never prophesied they should be popular, or wealthy, or successful among men; but only that they should "endure to the end," that "their generation should never pass away." Well has this word been kept!

He was handicapped financially at the outset of his ministry. His first work was a bridge across the Combe river—the chief cost of which he took upon himself—because he discovered that many men and beasts had perished in the stream on wild nights. Large sums of money were spent by him upon the church. He built a new vicarage—"I invested my poor dear Wife's fortune in Roofs and Walls to cover Strangers when I am gone"—the chimneys of which were models of church towers in parishes where he had lived: the kitchen chimney perplexed him much, till he thought of his mother's tomb, and there it now is in its exact shape and dimensions. The vicarage was so erected that the only objects visible from the two fronts would be the church and sea, 'the suggestions of both which are boundless,' and the spot chosen was where he had seen some sheep shelter, not, as was suggested, because he meant the vicarage to typify the refuge of his flock, but because he considered the sheep knew where the wind was least violent. A neighbour once said to him, as together they looked down on the vicarage, 'Ha! fools build houses, and wise men inhabit them.' 'Just so,' was the response, 'as wise men make proverbs, and fools quote them.' And then, added Hawker, 'we both grunted.' He also built a new school and called it St. Mark's, 'because he (St. Mark) was not an Apostle, but Teacher only, and is called in Old Times the Children's Saint.'

It is probable that no other parish in the kingdom had

such a vivid, picturesque personality for its vicar as Morwenstow had in Robert Stephen Hawker. When well advanced in years, he said, 'There is always something strange and new coming out now in the Churches, and I do not wonder that the people are repelled by novelties they cannot understand.' But not long before he had thus expressed himself, 'How can a decision of the Courts or Bishops override individual practice? The Corner Stone of the Establishment is private judgment—that is Personal Opinion—whatever tenet or usage an Englishman thinks right *is* right.' And 'personal opinion' certainly determined Hawker's varying course of action. With Synesius, Bishop of Cyrene, he might indeed have said, 'In serious things I go my own way.' In everything, in fact—even tea, tobacco, note-paper, pens, and pencils—he had his own peculiar ideas, and he generally carried them out with no thought as to expense. 'You must have perceived that in certain things I am very costly,' he once wrote to a friend who had often carried out his commissions. 'But then, as I tell inquirers, my Ebers Book-box is my bitter beer. So my Stationery is my Wine; and as I have not tasted Fermented Fluids for a great number of years, I have some right to indulge in other luxuries.'

His personal appearance was striking, and his dress was unique. His socks were of wool from his black ewe, but, besides these, black clothes he resolutely refused to wear. 'I congratulate you,' he observed, when standing by a wagonette full of black-coated clergy, 'on the funeral appearance of your hearse.' Once he favoured a brown cassock—'a blushing brown,' he said, 'was the hue of Our Lady's hair, as typified in the stem of the maiden-hair fern'—and a brimless hat of flesh-coloured beaver, in shape like the headgear of a Greek priest. In later days he wore a long purple-hued coat, a fisherman's blue jersey—he was called to be a fisher of men—into the side of which was woven a small red cross to mark the entrance of 'the centurion's cruel spear,' a reddish wide-awake beaver hat, and Hessian boots. He carried a cross-handled walking-stick—his 'pastoral staff'—not unlike a wooden sword, and from a button-hole dangled a broad

carpenter's pencil, an allusion to Him of Nazareth. 'At all events, brethren,' said he, when once chaffed by some 'brother rascals' on his extraordinary attire, 'you will allow me to remark that I don't make myself look like a waiter out-of-place, or an unemployed undertaker, and that I do scrupulously abide by the injunctions of the seventy-fourth canon of 1603.' He was clean shaven because 'by one of the Councils which are named in our Articles, and which all the Clergy at least have vowed to obey, Beards are forbidden to be worn by the Clergy at all.'

His pulpit quaintness was, in some respects, inherited. Dr. Hawker, the Plymouth divine, in a sermon, once told his large following of lady admirers, 'I see what it is, you ladies think to reach heaven by hanging on to my coat-tails. I will trounce you all: I will wear a spencer.' From the first, though he strongly resented any disrespect for sacred things and places, the Cornish poet's pulpit methods seem to have been, at least, unconventional. During his Tamerton curacy he was met one Sunday, on the way to morning service, by a labourer who had lost a sack of potatoes, and who, in great trouble, begged that the thief might be discovered. Hawker was taking the sermon that morning, and he preached on the eighth commandment. 'I have a sad tale to tell,' he said. 'One of our neighbours has missed a sack of potatoes from his garden, and the thief is even now sitting among you. He has a feather on his head!' A man in the congregation surreptitiously lifted his hand, and the culprit was revealed.

At Morwenstow he held a daily service in his church, generally by himself, when he prayed for the people. 'I did not want them here,' he said. 'God hears me; and they know when I am praying for them, for I ring the bell.' When the sexton rang the bell for the daily service, and it was time for him to cease, the vicar would call to him down the church, 'Now, Tom, three for the Trinity, and one for the Blessed Virgin.' If the congregation happened, as it frequently did, to consist of Mrs. Hawker alone, the vicar would begin the prayers with, 'Dearly beloved Charlotte! the Scripture moveth us,' &c. The floor he kept strewn

with southernwood and thyme, 'for angels to smell to.' Sometimes his dogs and cats accompanied him to church. In his judgement, we are told, all the creatures had a certain right of admission to God's house. (He ingeniously argued that the case of the Syrophenician woman showed that 'our Blessed Saviour sanctioned indulgence to pets'; and, in reply to a lady who was concerned as to the immortality of animals, he wrote, 'Who can read all this [Scripture references to animals] and doubt but that animals will roam and feed in the New Earth, wherein righteousness will dwell?') He would appear at his lectern attended by four or five cats, strange but graceful acolytes, who, as he declared, had much moral responsibility, and, allowing for an occasional display of youthful vivacity, rarely conducted themselves otherwise than with great propriety. If any cat caught a mouse while worship was proceeding, it was thenceforth excluded from participation in the service. His Sunday services had also a distinct originality. The singers, with the performers on the bass viol and the flutes, were posted at the far end of the church, and a little girl would walk up the aisle and hand a list of the hymns through the screen to the vicar; she said he invariably handed back to her a piece of barley sugar. But he disliked hymns: all that he ever read were more or less tainted with unsoundness in thought or in expression, and not one was to be compared in value and sound doctrine with the very worst version of the Psalms. Besides, they utterly destroyed uniformity—the great object of Church and State! And they revived the condition of things condemned by St. Paul, when one had his psalm, and another his doctrine, and another his schismatic name! Within the dim chancel the vicar was hidden from the congregation by the screen. But, as he contended in his *Footprints* paper on Morwenstow, the lattice-work of the chancel, which at first thought might appear to impede the transit of the voice, in reality grasped and delivered into stronger echo the ministry of tone. He wore crimson gloves, the proper sacrificial colour for a priest. He would wander up and down the chancel, book in hand, and reading now in

English, now in Latin. At certain points of the service he would prostrate himself on the ground before the altar, with outstretched arms, in the form of a cross. A little door in the screen gave access to the pulpit, and the vicar had great difficulty in squeezing through. When asked why he did not enlarge the door, he would say, 'Don't you see that this typifies the camel going through the eye of the needle?' After the sermon he came down the pulpit steps backwards, finding that the only possible way of returning through the door. Strangers preaching at Morwenstow, who did not know of this device, would find themselves imprisoned on the stairs, till the vicar came to their rescue. 'It is the strait and narrow way,' he would whisper, 'and few there be that find it.' The panels of the pulpit had been taken out, so that it might stand as an open framework. This was after an antique model, formed on the principle, as he remarked, that 'the people ought to see the Priest's feet.' When, just before his death, a zealous curate lowered the pulpit, he was much perturbed. 'I always regarded the sermon,' he said, 'as tidings from on high.' His sermons often attained a noble eloquence, and were frequently impromptu; but he sometimes found three discourses on one day, never conceived till he was in church, to be 'exhaustive for the nervous or fibrous tissue'! At the beginning of his career he always preached from manuscript, and once, when a large number of his sermons had collected, he had them burnt. A clergyman reproved him, since such sermons in a printed form might have been productive of much good. 'My dear C.,' he replied, 'I had all the ashes spread over a turnip field, and I assure you there was not a single turnip more in that field than in any other!'

Parents were not allowed by him in church when their children were christened; they were the authors of the first birth, from Adam and evil, and therefore should have nothing to do with the second birth, from God and good. The sacrament of baptism was delivered by him in full vestments: it was not valid without ecclesiastical apparel. He would pour the water three times on the child—without this trine

bestowal it would be robbed of the sacrament—and then, with the child in his arms, would walk up nearly to the first chancel steps, where he held it aloft as he announced, 'We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, and do *sign* him with the sign of the Cross.' He was glad when a child cried during its baptism; otherwise, he said, the devil did not depart. 'Her Baptism was good and satisfactory,' he once approvingly remarked. 'The Babe was tranquil up to the Aspersion, and then cried, as if by Signal, to avouch the departure of the Fiend.'

He was passionately attached to his church—his 'Saxon shrine.' 'My Church is to me,' he declared, 'that which the Spot of Absalom's choice was to him, when he said, "I have no Son to keep my name in remembrance"; so he reared a pillar in the King's Dale—and it is called to this day Absalom's Place.' 'One of the pious notions of old time' captivated him: that during the forty days and forty nights the Lord Jesus went like thought from land to land—glided, as angels glide all round the earth, and wheresoever He foresaw in His omniscience that there should afterward be a Church built and consecrated, there He paused the sole of His foot and hallowed it. 'What a thought,' said he, in a Morwenstow sermon, 'to think that here the arisen Lord once stood still, and looked along the Sea, and made Benediction with the print of the nails on this most Blessed ground.' In loneliness, in his own dim chancel, he held high converse with all the company of heaven, and there all difficulties were removed by divine intervention. There—in his own words—he would 'kneel, walk, or sit and meditate, close the eye and send out a Spiracle of Research from every pore. Gradually in such an atmosphere every fine fibre of the Soul brightens like the gossamer—St. Mary's silk—upon the grass, and becomes a Ray—hence knowledge and reply.' Every detail of the building was illustrated by his curious learning. The gargoyles were intended to show evil spirits disgorging the superfluous water of the Church, which nevertheless could not cool their actual tongue. To him 'watery symbolism'—we were born to God at the font, and therefore children of the

water—was the pervading spirit of ancient sacred architecture. Even the zigzag mouldings on the Norman arches signified the ripple on Gennesaret, the sea of sighs, the Lake of the Paraclete. The Morwenstow font, with its moulded cable and the uncouth lip of its circular rim; the piscina, possibly the oldest in the land; the 'grin of Arius' on the curve and on the shoulder of the western arch, picturing the baffled heretic in the Council of Nicaea; the bosses of the chancel roof—floral and animal decorations, together with the pentacle of Solomon and the six-angled shield of David—each of them a doctrine or a discipline; the deflected western window of the tower, symbolic of the drooping head of the Redeemer—declined towards His right shoulder; the aisle of St. John the Baptizer, reached by a descent of three steps, because those about to be baptized of John went down into the water: such were some of the features that he lovingly noted and suggestively explained.

His superstitious beliefs were many. Once, shortly after midnight, he entered the bedroom of a guest at the vicarage and solemnly told him the hour had come in which he should confess his many sins, and if he would repeat the following words three times and have faith, it would inevitably exorcise all evil spirits:—

Clean birds by sevens.
Unclean by twos.
The Dove in the Heavens
Is the one I will choose.

He approved of various charms. He saw brownies: on one occasion it was, he said, a kind of nameless and indefinable sensation, rather than the sight that assured him that it was preternatural. He would point to the bay below his hut at Morwenstow and declare he had seen mermaids there. He believed in the evil-eye, and whenever he met any one who, as he thought, possessed the baleful power he would move the fingers of his left hand into a certain position, supposed to act as a counter-charm. (I wonder did he ever know that the Moor protects himself against the evil-eye by stretching out the five fingers of his right hand, and saying, 'Five

in your eye,' the object of the gesture being to throw back the other person's dreaded influence.) Through the evil-eye of an old woman calamity overtook his cattle and he lost sundry sheep. But when he wore a certain amulet he found that a reputed witch had not her usual power over him, nor did his pony shy at 'things seen by her, though not by me.' At harvest time he always employed the husband of this witch; otherwise, something was sure to go wrong. He noted that a white owl shrieked every night in the last year of a certain man's life, until the night he died; that night the owl ceased, and was never afterwards heard or seen. When, after the administration of the sacrament to a dying old man, the recipient slept for the first time during a whole week, Hawker observed that such was the frequent result of 'our Blessed Saviour's Sign.' His solicitous care for the proper burial of the corpses of wrecked seamen thrown upon his coast was attended with this great comfort—the souls of all such men were grateful to him for the respectful interment of their bodies, and all they were permitted to do for him they fulfilled. It seemed to some who knew him that he lived in a world of spirits, and they were his constant companions and friends—more than those still living on the earth. He *knew* that the demons were loose, that the messengers of Satan were volatile and filled the air, and that the angels were ever passing to and fro.

One day as he entered 'the Gulph between the Vallies,' and a storm leaped from the sea and rushed at him roaring, he recognized a demon, and put his pony into a gallop, and so escaped; but it was perilous work. Still, he never feared the demons, and they knew it; therefore they never spared him. And inasmuch as from despite of baptism and choked channels of grace nine out of ten men were inhabited, the fiends had vantage ground whence to baffle him; and they did. When a great gale did much injury to his barn, his own interpretation was that, since no other clergyman in the diocese exposed continually the existence and usages of the demons, he was especially obnoxious to them. He was actually saying in church, in a sermon on Job, 'Touch not

his life,' when the first roof of the barn fell down; and then, when he had been denouncing the demons as the authors of storm and tempest, fire and hail, the second onslaught came. Lent was to him every year the chief time of the demons. Then he saw them, loose forty days—the princes of the air, allowed to rouse the whirlwind and to urge the storm; and every Lent he marked the prevalence of the fiend in atmospheric violence. Their influence had, of course, a limit, and their evil was transformed into good by Him who was stronger than they; but Lent was 'their time and the power of darkness.' At times he considered the weather quite worthy of the Prince of the power of the air, to whom the atmosphere of this country was surrendered, because of the great majority of vassals of evil which existed in our Vulcanic nation. The evil one won his pre-eminence here by becoming the Baal of English worship, and his ministering demons had given up in return the myths of steam and gas and the oxides for Anglican reward. He said for years that the weather of guilty England was penal weather, and the fiend was loose. At the Indian Mutiny our nation's doom had begun, and we were being brought into judgement by loosened armies of fiends which had received allowance to revenge. The total history of our times was indeed a record of the battles of the demons with the battalions of the living God. In 1859 the beginning of the end had already come; the unholy laws, the cruel poor law, the unrighteous robbery of God's tithe, the sanction offered to unlawful marriage and divorce, would have their retribution. The day was nigh when England must fold in her horns and be once more an island only, for what could then raise up an army here? Would it not have been far cheaper to have paid a paltry penny Church rate than to have lost the Angel Michael as this rebellious nation had? And, later, 'the demonism of England was, *me judice*, promoted by the cattle plague, as preternatural a scourge as the murrain of ancient days in other sinful lands. A bishop (Samuel Wilberforce), in his place in Parliament, uttered a defiant and rancorous speech Godward; soon after his horse stumbled, and the angel of his

baptism held aloof, and unsuccoured he died.' Another bishop (John Coleridge Patteson) 'aped' the apostle and the martyr among the barbarous people of the Southern Seas. In peril an arrow or a club, which the least of God's angels could have averted by a touch, yet did not, slew him. Even he (Hawker) wondered, until Patteson's *Life* appeared. Then he saw the cause of these things—the doctrines uttered by that man to the listening heathen were fallacious and untrue; he was Arian, Wesleyan, heretical, and the messages he invented were not sent by God. So among the savages he was left alone. The Great Exhibition was a 'People's Sin'—a vast effort to foster the worst impulses of Adam. The *Great Eastern* was built in audacity, instead of trust in God—built so large as to disdain peril at sea. When finished, a bottle of wine was dashed at her bows in travesty of Christian baptism, and she was called after the demon—Leviathan was the name of the great enemy of man in the Scripture, and it meant the wreathed or coiled serpent. With such a baptismal rite, how could she prosper on the element sacred to the rest of the Spirit of God (it moved on the face of the waters)? But often there was a winsome attractiveness in the superstition he cherished; this, for instance: The willows of the watercourses, prior to the death of Christ, grew upright; but after their rods had been taken to scourge the Lord, they drooped evermore in memorial grief.

These glimpses of Hawker make it impossible for any one to wonder at the intolerance with which he frequently expressed himself. If to him John Milton was a double-dyed thief of other men's brains; and Samuel Wilberforce a man of snailjuice and sugar; and Tait, by the wrath of God, archbishop (if Tait was ever baptized, 'the exorcisms were omitted'); and Dean Stanley, a Socinian infidel; and Pusey, woolly brained, with spasms; and Tennyson, once a religious man, but not now, being a Maurician; and the total denier but a boundless Protestant—then we are not surprised to learn that John Wesley corrupted and degraded the Cornish character, found them wrestlers, caused them to change their sins, and called it conversion; and that the witness of

the Spirit, as taught by Wesley, was 'a spasm of the ganglions'; and that Spurgeon was a sower of tares in God's field; and that Moody and Sankey were sorcerers; and that the nether millstone is softer than a sectary's soul; and that dissent was the outlet to carry away all defilements from the face of the Holy Mother Church. His antagonism to Dissenters was of early date. A companion pointed out to him, when a boy, that some one had written 'Satan' on the door of the Wesleyan chapel at Stratton. 'No doubt he did it himself,' said young Hawker; 'it is no uncommon thing for a gentleman to put his name on his own front door.' He once asked a Dissenter at Morwenstow why his co-religionists were shy of coming to him about the funerals of their relatives. 'Well, sir,' was the reply, 'we thought you objected to burying Dissenters.' 'Not at all,' said Hawker, 'I should be only too glad to bury you all.' His biographer tells us that in the discomfiture of heresy Hawker put aside his human and personal sympathies, and regarded opposition to himself as an offence against the Almighty through His earthly representative. He said that though Morwenstow was full of Dissenters, he never once failed to carry his point. 'But then I always do it thro' my Angel and the Angel at the Altar.'

And yet, as we abundantly find in Mr. Byles's fascinating book—a worthy achievement, one of the best biographies of recent years, though Mr. Baring-Gould's smaller volume, with all its faults, must not be neglected—this seer of visions, this believer in witches, this stern exorcist, this priest of mediaeval mind and mood, was not only a great personality, but a tender, human-hearted man. And so we may think of him, not only with his list of all his parishioners divided into two classes—*beati sint* on one side, and *anathema sint* on the other—with the changes constantly marked; or reading the Exorcistic Service of the Western Church, in Latin, over five recalcitrant members of his vestry, who knew not the meaning of the voice, but who, since 'those who inhabited them' did, fled from the room, howling, and enabled him to carry his Church rate with a glorious majority; or, in his

little study with his few folios, poring over the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas, his solitary book, wherein he found—stated, discussed, and solved—every human thought about every question that the mind of man could ask; or translating and annotating Gretser's *De Sancta Cruce*, with its strange lore and fantastic symbolism; or writing his poems in his lonely hut on the face of the cliff; or turning lawless parishioners from wrecking and smuggling; but also caring with ceaseless kindness and lavish generosity for all in his charge, irrespective of creed or denomination; reading novel after novel to his aged wife when her sight failed, without knowing in the least what they were about; cherishing the love of a St. Francis for birds and animals; loving little children and being loved by them in return; happy in the affections of home, and cheered in his second marriage and declining years with the prattle of happy-hearted babes; or asking, 'What pleasure can there be on one's Bed of Death to remember a fine discourse or the applause of a multitude in comparison with the noiseless delight of peace-making and loving-kindness to the Poor in Spirit whom the Master loves?'

He was burdened with troubles. Depression often haunted him. 'Besides all other goads there is the dull daily drop on drop that wears out the soul with low mean degrading money fears'—six hundred pounds would have unshackled his mind and nerved his heart, and enabled him to work with MSS. such as, he thought, no other man possessed. His literary labours resulted in failure, or brought him only a beggarly pittance. But withal, time after time, he bore the back-strokes of fortune bravely, on his feet.

On his deathbed he entered the Roman Catholic Church. It is possible, though not probable, that he had before thought of such a step; it is quite probable that his mind failed him at the last. In any case, it is certain that this final course was taken largely through the action of his devoted wife, who, on her own initiative, sent for the officiating priest. But to revive the controversy will serve no useful purpose.

The remaining space at my disposal will not suffice for any adequate treatment of Hawker's literary productions. Humour, versatility, imagination, mysticism, together with pictorial and satiric powers of a high order, abound in his letters; his picturesque, pathetic, and racy prose has the quality that endures; and his stirring ballads, his lyrics and legendary poems, will always command a niche in English literature. In speaking of the 'Quest of the Sangraal,' Tennyson said, 'Hawker has beaten me on my own ground.' Its closing lines contain an unsurpassed description of the sea after a storm:

He ceased: and all around was dreamy night:
There stood Dundagel, throned; and the great sea
Lay, a strong vassal at his master's gate,
And, like a drunken giant, sobbed in sleep.

But perhaps no better poem of his can be quoted than the touching and triumphant 'Dirge,' written by him for the tombstone of a young farmer of his parish:

'Sing from the chamber to the grave!'
Thus did the dead man say:
'A sound of melody I crave,
Upon my burial day.
'Bring forth some tuneful instrument,
And let your voices rise:
My spirit listened, as it went,
To music of the skies.
'Sing sweetly while you travel on,
And keep the funeral slow:—
The angels sing where I am gone,
And you should sing below.
'Sing from the threshold to the porch!
Until you hear the bell:
And sing you loudly in the church,
The Psalms I love so well.
'Then bear me gently to my grave,
And as you pass along,
Remember 'twas my wish to have
A pleasant funeral song.
'So earth to earth, and dust to dust!
And though my flesh decay,
My soul shall sing among the just,
Until the judgment day.'

R. WILKINS REES.

THE RIFT IN NORWEGIAN LUTHERANISM.

MODERN Norse literature is of comparatively recent growth. Until the beginning of last century Norway had no University of its own, and no centre where independence of thought and interest could find congenial soil, and whence its results might be widely disseminated. For higher education and for cultured society a Norseman had to betake himself to Copenhagen; and if he had a message for his fellows he must write in Danish and publish in Denmark. But with 1814, when Norway was wrested from Denmark and united to Sweden by the European Powers, a new era dawned. There was a unity of action that extorted from Sweden the liberal constitution Norway has enjoyed up to the present time. There was a freedom of thought that introduced an enlightened educational system and numerous political and social reforms. There was a development of national life that, in a single generation, made Norway as independent and united as she had formerly been subject and detached. This independence has had its prophets and apostles, its singers and poets, whose inspiration and influence have made *Gamle Norge* what she is to-day.

It may be that some of her greatest spirits have had an audience composed only of their fellow countrymen. Few of her poets are well known outside the Norwegian skerries; but the national music, to which these singers have in some degree given the impetus, is familiar to us through the strains of Edvard Grieg, as it was to a former generation through the strings of Ole Bull. In drama, through Henrik Ibsen; in fiction, through Björnson and others, the whole world knows what the Norwegians now possess. In the religious domain, however, Norway has been mainly marking time. The Lutheran Church is a fossilized institution, conservative to

the last degree and ultra-Erastian, having no constitution and no Convocation where its representatives can periodically meet officially and discuss proposals for the religious weal of the people.

About the middle of last century some forms of Free Church life began to emerge, and the theological stagnation was disturbed. At first such writings as appeared were more or less polemical, but latterly some really able theologians have been occupying themselves with worthy themes, and not a few have written volumes deserving of wider circulation than a Norwegian or Scandinavian world can afford. To Germany we have been accustomed to look for Lutheran theology; but in Norway there are several theologians of considerable independence of thought, thinkers courageously facing the solution of knotty problems, authors more deserving of attention and more worthy of study than very many of the Germans whose works are well known in our land. Our ignorance of this Norse theology is partly due to the fact that Norway is a small country and its writers are very modest; and partly to this, that few of our scholars read Norwegian and take means to make known such able books as come under their notice, and to get them reviewed, translated, and published. So far as we know, only Dahle's *Livet efter Døden* (Life after Death) has been translated into English, although great numbers of these Norse books have been deemed worthy of translation into German, and have thus become accessible to us at second-hand. Now, however, this Norse theology is becoming quite independent, and there are signs that the Norwegians are about to throw off the yoke of German orthodox Lutheranism.

In order to understand the situation it may be well briefly to indicate the chief influences that have affected religious Norway during the successive quarters of last century. Each quarter is associated with a particular name—Hauge, Grundtvig, Johnson, and Petersen respectively. Norway was sunk in Rationalism and Pelagianism at the beginning of the century. The clergy and the middle and upper classes were mostly materialistic in their views, and

the spiritual darkness was very dense when Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771-1824), a self-taught peasant, began to visit the various parts of the country, preaching the gospel as he went. It is estimated that, in the course of five years, he traversed about 10,000 miles, mostly on foot, with the result that multitudes were awakened, and the religious life of the peasantry was revived and purified. Hauge made much of conversion, regeneration, and sanctification. Many were the controversies between the priests on the one hand, and the pious peasant on the other; and the peasant prevailed. He was persecuted and imprisoned at the instigation of the Rationalistic clergy; but in the end Haugianism asserted itself in Parliament, at the University, and even in the Church; and what of evangelical zeal and spiritual life exists in the Norse Church to-day may be traced back to the life and fervour and preaching of Hans Nielsen Hauge.

The second quarter of the century took its impress from Grundtvig, a Danish bishop, a son of the people, one of the most versatile men of his day, a genuine poet and a prolific hymn-writer. He was a zealous preacher of the Word, and persistently maintained that if Christianity is to be a living influence it must be made so simple that a child can understand it. His main points were that Spirit is power, Spirit reveals itself only in the Word, and Spirit works only in freedom. Hence he demanded freedom in Church and State as in the schools; and he secured the establishment of the People's High Schools which have been so deservedly famed. Through the preaching and personality of the Rev. W. A. Wexels of Christiania, Grundtvigianism spread far and wide in Norway, with the result that Rationalism was still further discredited, and at last practically extinguished; whilst religion showed its vitality and spirit by the founding of the Home Missionary Society and of the Foreign Missionary Society, which have done so much for the spread of the gospel at home and abroad. The Grundtvigian revival affected the clergy and upper classes as the Haugian had affected the peasantry; and when the third

quarter of the century came, the whole country became subject more or less to a common influence.

Professor Johnson's name has become associated with this period, although Professor Caspari and the Rev. G. A. Lammers, the founder of the Norwegian Baptist Church, greatly aided in leaving a deep mark on the religious life of the land. The main feature of the preaching of these men was their urgent appeals to the unconverted. Asserting the utter depravity of human nature, the Johnsonians were opposed to the Grundtvigians, who held that some remnant of divinity still resided in man. The religious revival of this period was accompanied by a revival of the Lutheranism of the seventeenth century. Next to Hauge, it may be said that Johnson was the most potent personality in the Norwegian Church during the century. He was Professor of Systematic Theology and then of Church History at the Norse National University. He systematized the old Lutheran orthodoxy, and tried to unite it with the fervour of pietism and the consistency that thought demands. The whole system was based on faith as a personal moral religious conviction, and it quickly made its way in Norway, because Johnson was considered as great a logician as he was known to be a perfervid evangelist.

In 1875 Dr. Fredrik Petersen succeeded Johnson in the Chair of Systematic Theology, just when free-thought and culture were flooding Norwegian social life. The State clergy were able neither to understand the movement nor to meet it. The Johnsonians did not recognize that, in spite of its opposition to the Christian view of life and its unbelief, the movement was the expression of an ideal, implying progress and possessing a modicum of truth. Petersen here found his field and did a splendid work for the Norwegian Church and its theology until his death in 1903. By extensive lecture work, by writings which occupy a prominent place in Norse theological literature, he addressed himself to the religious and theological community, and immediately gave a great impulse to Christian thought and work in his country, with most beneficial results. He blamed the Church

for its tendency to isolate itself from the secular sciences and the intellectual life of the people, and to mistake a prevailing system for the everlasting truth itself. He claimed that the theology of the Church should appropriate the fruits of progressive culture in order thereby to promote the Church's growth in Christian knowledge. He thus condemned the old Lutheran orthodoxy as antiquated, at least in its setting forth of the faith. He had much prejudice and opposition to overcome, and twenty years passed before it was generally acknowledged that Petersen was right. He brought about a theological transformation; and his work had the significance of an independent phase of theological development, by his energetic demand for deliverance from the old Lutheran system, and his vigorous impulse towards a rethinking of the Christian content of faith, a clothing of it in a dress more suitable for the times. Because he was the real pioneer in this work, Petersen's name has become as closely identified with the closing quarter of the century as Johnson's was with the period immediately preceding.

On theological thought and work in Norway, Professor Petersen exercised a great and beneficial influence. His death was a great loss to his country and its Church. There were two candidates for the vacant Chair of Systematic Theology, viz. Dr. Chr. A. Bugge of Christiania, and Johannes Ording, a young Fellow of the National University. Dr. Bugge was known to be a ripe scholar, in the full flower of life, one of Norway's half-dozen D.D.s., all the rest, with a single exception, being already provided for. Bugge had lectured with acceptance at Danish and German universities, and his works on the *Parables* had won universal admiration, whilst his other theological books were of outstanding merit. Ording had published nothing, and was unknown outside the University. A Commission consisting of Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian professors was entrusted with the task of testing the candidates, who were required to submit some work of theirs to prove their fitness for the post, and to deliver two lectures on prescribed subjects. The Commission heartily recognized the value of Dr. Bugge's scholarship

and theological works, and indicated that for another Chair he would have been well qualified. But his past work had been more exegetical and expository than apologetic, and they could not recommend him for the Systematic Theology Chair.

They reported, on the other hand, that Ording had made a special study of Systematic Theology, had all the qualifications for the post, and had submitted a book and delivered lectures proving him to be peculiarly fitted for such a Chair. But they could not recommend him for the vacant post, because in one of his lectures he showed considerable divergence from fundamental Lutheran doctrine. Next day the Theological Faculty of the University, with one dissentient, issued a declaration that Ording's divergence was not of such a kind as to prevent his appointment. The Senatus, almost unanimously, approved of his fitness; and the whole teaching staff of the Lutheran Theological Training College did likewise. But the bench of bishops protested against an unorthodox Lutheran being appointed to the only Systematic Theology Chair in Norway. The Government refused to make any appointment meanwhile, and announced that a new competition would be held, and that candidates from other Lutheran lands would be free to make application for the post.

Johannes Ording, as a Fellow of the University, has the right to deliver lectures to the students on any subject, including Systematic Theology, absolutely independently of the Government or the Church, so that the views he holds, and which are shared, it is understood, by the whole Theological Faculty, with one exception, will not be silenced. As a protest against the setting aside of Ording, the Senatus has bestowed the Divinity doctorate upon him.

For us the crisis has its interest, because Dr. Ording's divergence from Lutheran fundamental doctrine is declared to consist in a remarkable approximation to the Calvinist views of the Sacraments. It is significant that multitudes of Norwegians, especially in the west country, where religious sentiment is very strong, by the agency of lay preaching and

the influence of devotional literature, in great measure translated from the English, have been faced with the difficulty of reconciling the Lutheran doctrines of baptismal regeneration and consubstantiation with the plain teaching of Scripture, and by a totally different route are reaching the same destination as Dr. Ording and those in sympathy with his interpretation of the Word of God. In other districts of Norway the laity, who have been so familiar with the old doctrines, and so content with the traditional dogmatic teaching, that any divergence from Luther's interpretation of Scripture is looked upon with alarm and horror, have joined with the section of the State Church clergy who are on the side of the bishops in their protest against Ording's appointment. The Norwegian Church, as has already been remarked, is ultra-Erastian, and has no constitution and no General Assembly or Annual Convocation; consequently it is impossible to tell how the clergy and the laity, as a whole, are divided on the subject. But the character and standing of the men, and the magazines and the newspapers that are in sympathy with the progressive theological tendency, indicate that old Lutheranism is losing its hold on Norway, and that a breath of fresher religious life is blowing over the Norwegian fields.

Dr. Ording, who is only in his thirty-fifth year, has always been specially interested in philosophical-theological questions. He was greatly influenced by the late Professor Petersen, whose death created the vacancy which has led to the present crisis. It was from Petersen that Ording first learned to distinguish between a dogma as a product of human thought and the revelation of religious truth which underlies it. And as he gradually occupied himself with theological questions, he came to a clearer consciousness of the distinctive character of religious knowledge, and likewise to a more critical attitude towards the orthodox tradition. The transformation of the Christian thinking, starting from a more living religious conception of revelation and faith, which Professor Petersen initiated in Norway, Ording has been led to carry out with greater consistency than he.

Having been appointed to a University Fellowship, Ording was enabled to devote himself to comprehensive and connected studies, especially to the fundamental dogmatic and related religious-philosophical questions. He has certainly only a limited acquaintance with English and Scotch theology, but his familiarity with British philosophy is deep and wide. If one tried to place him, it would probably be among the Neo-Kantians and Ritschlians.

Dr. Ording's two books were both published in 1904, viz. *Religious Knowledge: its Nature and Certainty*,¹ an able and valuable attempt to raise the Christian truth to an independent place in the intellectual life of the age, but having no particular bearing on the subject of the 'Rift'; and *Two Lectures*,² which has a most important bearing on the question before us. Besides submitting a book for the consideration of the commissioners, the candidates were required to deliver two lectures on specified subjects. The themes were 'The Saving Value of the Death of Jesus,' and 'The Operation of the Means of Grace.' In the former lecture Ording sets forth the forgiveness of sins as that which, according to John, is the foundation for the whole Christian life, religiously and ethically. The spiritual kinship of the believer with God 'must be thought of as based on the great, all-embracing forgiveness effected by the atonement with which the Christian life begins.' To John, the death of Jesus is the climax of Christ's revelation of the Father; but it is quite certain that this significance of Christ's death has clarified itself primarily in the thought of the forgiveness of sins?

But passing from this discourse, which, on the whole, is well reasoned and suitably expressed, and has met with universal approbation, we turn to the lecture on 'The Operation of the Means of Grace,' which has cost Dr. Ording a University Chair. In this treatise he points out the relation between the mystical and magical in the effects of the means of grace.

¹ *Den Religiøse Erkjendelse: dens art og vished.*

² *To Foredrag*, af Johannes Ording. Kristiania: Grøndahl & Son.

His representation is clear and pointed, so that it is very easy to understand the position he takes up. The only business of the means of grace, he holds, is to bring men into contact with the revelation of God in Jesus Christ. The instrument which the *Word* employs for this purpose is thinking, thought. The instrument the *Sacraments* employ is a visible act. The Sacraments concentrate in a figurative act the whole blessings of salvation, and both by their form and their content they operate more strongly than the Word itself is able to do. Revelation and faith are closely related. And faith is the only way by which man can enter into possession of the salvation offered in the means of grace. With the emphasizing of Christ's personality as the only revelation of God, of the personal nature of grace, and of faith as the consequent appropriation, the magical, all intermixture of spirit and nature in the essence and operation of the means of grace, falls away. The mysterious element in the operation of the means of grace consequently lies in this, that by them man is brought into contact with a divine revelation, which from its transcendent nature must work out beyond the stage of personal development which man at any given time has reached. Thus Ording is led to give up the magical in the operation of the Sacraments.

He holds that in the Lutheran confessional documents there are two different views of the Sacraments, which conflict with each other, and he rejects that side of the Lutheran doctrine which distinguishes it from Calvin's. In one respect, however, he goes even beyond Calvin, for he rejects Calvin's doctrine of Predestination. Calvin resolutely held the harsh doctrine that God from all eternity has elected one part of the human race to bliss, the other part to perdition. Consequently, he concludes that neither the Word nor the Sacraments can have any real operative effect for others than the elect, whilst Lutherans hold that both Word and Sacraments operate effectively on all, and that the only question is whether they will receive or not. Dr. Ording does not follow Calvin in this doctrine of Predestination, which may be said to have been very generally given

up, even within the Reformed Church. He strongly maintains that both the Word and the Sacraments set forth and offer God's grace to all. But this difference manifestly lies not in any really different view of the Sacraments, but only in the different view of the doctrine of Election. Calvin's Election exhausts the Word exactly in the same way as it exhausts the Sacraments. And the doctrine of the Word has never divided the Lutheran and Reformed Churches as the doctrine of the Sacraments has. Apart from the doctrine of Election, the sacramental view of Ording does not seem to differ much from that of Calvin. He practically gives up baptismal regeneration and consubstantiation.

Baptism does not regenerate the unconscious child, Ording says. 'That the infant cannot have communicated to it *faith* and *regeneration* in the ordinary, Christian, scriptural sense, in which faith is a personal adhesion, and regeneration is a spiritual change of life, is to me so clear that I will not waste a word on it.' That which gives baptism its effect and value for the Christian's inner life is undoubtedly this, that baptism stands to him as a sign assuring him that God has taken him for His child and entered with him into a covenant that stands firm on God's side, even if the covenant in many ways and for long periods is broken on man's side. This is what makes baptism precious and comforting to multitudes of pious Christians. Ording admits that God in baptism enters into covenant with us, gives us His gracious promises, and takes us for His children. But he denies that in baptism God affects the unconscious child's slumbering spiritual life so that it becomes completely altered, *re-generated*. In his opinion, regeneration cannot take place so long as the child is unconscious. But when the child awakens to consciousness and learns to know the God who in baptism has received him as His child, and in child-like faith gives his heart to Him, then God regenerates the soul into newness of life. This doctrine, Ording maintains, is not in conflict with any experience men have actually had, and it certainly does not conflict with Scripture. The Christian baptism mentioned in the New Testament was

mission-baptism, therefore adult and not infant baptism; and we must assume that God by baptism only effects that which the subjective condition of the baptized person permits Him to effect. If an adult unbeliever is baptized, then we may be sure that he is not regenerated by baptism; and yet his baptism is not without significance. God gives him in baptism promises of grace which regenerate him as soon as he believes them and is converted. He need not therefore be baptized anew. And it is the same with the unconscious child. In this case there is no unbelief to prevent God's work, but the child's spiritual and intellectual life slumbers. It is quite conceivable that, so long as the spiritual life slumbers, God can give gracious promises which will operate regeneratively as soon as the individual awakens to conscious faith; but He cannot recreate the spiritual life, for there is needed a self-conscious will for that. And Ording holds that there is nothing whatever in the Bible against that view.

And he maintains that his view does not conflict with the Lutheran Confessions, by which the Norwegian Church stands, viz. the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Shorter Catechism. The Augsburg Confession only says: 'Concerning baptism the Lutherans teach that it is necessary for salvation, and that through baptism God's grace is offered, and that children should be baptized in order that they, being surrendered to God in baptism, shall by Him be received into grace. They condemn the anabaptists, who reject infant baptism, and who maintain that children may be saved without baptism.' There is no reference to baptismal regeneration in the whole passage. The catechism says: 'Baptism effects the forgiveness of sins and salvation from death and the devil,' &c., but nothing about regeneration. On the other hand, according to the Norwegian ritual, which has only secondary authority, the priest, with his hand on the child's head, says: 'Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has now regenerated you by water and the Holy Spirit, and has forgiven you all your sins, strengthen you with His grace unto eternal life.'

Apart from the ritual, the literal Lutheran view is evidently that the saving effect of baptism on a man only comes into operation when the baptized person himself believes. So long as he does not believe, the baptismal grace is inoperative. And it is definite Lutheran doctrine that baptism does not regenerate others than those who believe. So far as baptismal regeneration is concerned, Ording holds that he is supported in his view by the Lutheran standards.

But when he comes to treat of the Lord's Supper, the discordance between Ording and the Confessional documents is manifest. The Augsburg Confession says: 'Christ's body and blood are truly present in the Lord's Supper and are distributed to the communicants.' Luther's Shorter Catechism says: 'The Sacrament of the altar is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under the bread and the wine.' And the Norse ritual, of inferior validity, says that the communicants shall 'believe that Jesus Christ is Himself present with His body and blood.' These words plainly mean that Christ's body and blood—of course, the *heavenly* body and blood He now has—are literally eaten and drunk along with the bread and wine. Ording denies that. He grants that the significance of the Supper is to make living to us that Jesus has given His body and shed His blood for our salvation. In the Eucharist Jesus extends to every individual the sacrifice He offered on the cross for the atonement for our sins, as if He said, 'This sacrifice have I made for you; appropriate it, therefore; believe the forgiveness of your sins.' Ording's view is this. Jesus Himself is personally present in the Supper, just as He was present with His disciples 'that night on which He was betrayed,' when He instituted the Eucharist. And He does now what He did then. He holds out the bread, and says, 'Take, eat; this is My body broken for you, the body I gave for you in death.' He holds out the cup, and says, 'Drink ye all of it. This cup is the new testament in My blood. It is My blood which I shed on the cross for the forgiveness of your sins.' According to Ording, the bread and wine are merely symbols of Christ's body and blood, but in these symbols

Jesus offers us the atoning sacrifice He made at Golgotha for our sins, assures us that this sacrifice is valid for us, and urges us to lay hold of it in confident faith in the forgiveness of our sins. The new Lutheran view seems to be that the Supper communicates, not the forgiveness of sins, since the forgiveness comes by baptism and the Word; but it communicates something totally different, viz. the new graces and powers and life that lie in Christ's glorified body. Thus Ording seems to be un-Lutheran in his view of the nature of the Supper, but Lutheran in his view of its benefits and effects; whilst orthodox Norwegians are Lutheran in their view of the nature of the Supper, but un-Lutheran in their view of its benefits and effects. It cannot be both Christ's glorified body and blood, and the body and blood offered on the cross. There is thus a self-contradiction here, with the result that the teaching and preaching about the Lord's Supper in the Norwegian Church have constantly diverged more and more from the confessional documents.

It is an interesting and significant fact that in recent years the decrease of communicants in the Norwegian State Church, especially in the towns and certain districts of the country, has been so alarming that faithful ministers have looked upon it as a cause for heart-searching and great concern. And among those most concerned will be found a very large number of the able men who are in sympathy with the views to which Dr. Ording has so boldly given expression, and who possibly see in the Lutheran sacramental view the reason why so many are forsaking the communion-table. The Theological Faculty of the National University, all but unanimously, holds that Dr. Ording's views do not diverge fundamentally from the Lutheran standard. And these professors, approving of his views, have the moulding of the men who are to be the ministers of the Church in the coming years.

Dr. Ording has had to suffer for his views. Progress is seldom made without martyrdoms. The Chair of Systematic Theology is not yet filled, and Ording is again an applicant

for the position. A different Commission has been appointed to decide upon the merits of the candidates, and a new Government is in power. The day will surely come when such an able scholar, fearless thinker, courageous theologian, will be welcomed as a member of the University Senatus, and have his share in shaping the thought of the coming generation of Norwegian students, and liberating the Norse Church from the bonds that fetter its freedom and confine it within the pale of an antiquated and deadening dogmatism.

It is really only a question of time when these views will be almost universal. And when we remember the change of attitude towards Luther's opinion and interpretation of the Word of God, we see in the present movement part of the process of progress Norway has been making. Norway is really one of the most progressive countries in Europe. She has shown much independence of thought, virile minds have honestly applied themselves to pressing problems, shackles of usage and inherited custom in many fields have been thrown off. This process is now taking place in the domain of theology, and will probably have the same result. For these Norse theologians are unwilling to be bound by the dead hand or word of man, by the dicta or dogmas of Lutherans who fancied they were interpreting the mind of their Master, or even by the expressed opinions of Luther himself, if these do not seem to have sufficient warrant in Holy Writ. They give all due credit and respect to the great champion of the Reformation and the founder of their Church, but they hold that he was not infallible, and that there are some points in which Scripture demands a greater divergence from Roman Catholic doctrine than Luther favoured. They therefore appeal to the law and to the testimony.

With the spread of education in Norway there has been a growing dissatisfaction with the stereotyped old Lutheran theology. The Church has done very little indeed to win the masses, with the result that much of the religious life of the country has become superficial, nominal, formal. There is too much ritual and too little reality in the Church services.

The priests receive from the Government the very texts they are to preach from on every Sunday of the year. Many of them are intolerant towards dissenters, and act as if there could be no true religion except in the State Church; and they lay far more emphasis on mere assent to the Lutheran doctrines in order to obtain salvation than on faith in Christ's atoning sacrifice. The magnitude of the parishes and the multiplicity of public and official obligations laid upon the priests hinder adequate attention to pastoral duties. Lack of political sympathy between the clergy and their parishioners has to some extent also alienated the hearts of the people from the Church; and the lack of a strong Free Church to provoke to zeal and good works must not be overlooked in estimating the situation.

Only within the last half-century have any of the Free Churches obtained a footing in the land. Now, however, the Free Lutherans (Presbyterians), Methodists (Episcopal), Baptists, and Congregationalists are all doing splendid evangelistic work. Many local revivals of religion have taken place as the result of their operations; and the emissaries and agents of the Norwegian Home Mission, copying Free Church methods and zeal, have likewise done much for the deepening of religious life and the spread of the gospel. The converts in these revivals have turned for their devotional reading to this country, and the books of Spurgeon and Meyer, Professors Henry Drummond and James Stalker, Drs. G. Matheson, J. R. Macduff, and many others, have had a great effect in deepening the dissatisfaction with Lutheran theology. The people have come to see that for regeneration, penitence and faith are required; and if conversion is needed for salvation, then it is not sufficient to rely on baptismal grace.

The theological controversies, in which the whole press of the country has participated, have led people back to the Bible, and a revival of religion is now taking place almost unparalleled in the experience even of the oldest preachers in the country. The revival is associated with the name of Albert Lunde, a Lutheran Baptist layman. For months

the largest hall in Christiania, with a sitting accommodation of 5,000, has been crowded nightly. Multitudes have been converted. The evangelical ministers of the city and the Secretary of State for the Church have attended the gatherings and taken part in them. The bishop has given permission for the lay evangelist, anabaptist though he is, to preach in the parish pulpits, and for revival services to be held in the churches. At these, Methodist lay preachers and others are allowed to take part, a toleration never known before, and in strange contrast to the persecution of Hauge exactly a hundred years ago. And from all parts of the country come reports of similar awakening.

What does all this portend? The present rift in Norwegian Lutheranism will not lead to any secession from the State Church; but the ferment will in due time leaven the whole Church. There will be more liberality and toleration in the Church than ever before, and the gospel will reach the people from the parish pulpits with a message of power and grace which has been unknown in many quarters hitherto. There will be a greater demand than ever for a constitution for the Church, and for the right to introduce such reforms in ecclesiastical procedure and government and doctrine as may seem best to those who have the highest weal of the people and the Church at heart. And when this free National Church, possibly free from State control altogether, finally comes to its own, the influence it will exert on the people will be infinitely greater than in the past. At present the people are materialistic and indifferent, but not really irreligious, for the splendid support accorded to the Norwegian Foreign Mission Society shows Norway's goodwill towards the gospel. And when the priests of the National Church are set free from secular and official work to preach the gospel of the grace of God, and to be pastors indeed to their flocks, a new day will break in Norway.

The rift in Norwegian Lutheranism means not merely progress towards freedom in the Norse State Church, and a breaking away from the old dogmatic Lutheranism, but it also means a breaking away from that German influence

which has been dominant in Norwegian Church life ever since the Reformation. By the visits of Norwegian professors to this country to study our theological system and methods of training, by their increasing interest in and acknowledgements to our theological literature, by their kindly references to British writers and hearty appreciation of British institutions, we see an increasing affection on the part of the Norwegian Church for her old motherland. We gave Norway its Christianity a thousand years ago, and we have inspired the Free Churches existing in the Land of the Midnight Sun. Britain will greatly rejoice at anything that tends to draw that country nearer to our own again, and that helps to hasten the time when the descendants of the Vikings of old will become in every rank and layer of society true, zealous, and devoted followers of the Prince of Peace.

JOHN BEVERIDGE.

EARLY LATIN HYMNOLOGY.

Thesaurus Hymnologicus. By H. A. DANIEL. Vols. i.-v.
(i. Halis, 1841 ; ii.-v. Lipsiae, 1855-6.)

Prudentii Carmina. Ed. DRESSEL. (Lipsiae. 1860.)

Fin du Paganisme. Par GASTON BOISSIER. (Hachette et Cie. 1903.)

Sacred Latin Poetry. By R. C. TRENCH, D.D. (Macmillan & Co. 1864.)

Hymns (Article: 'Encyclopaedia Britannica'). By LORD SELBORNE. And other works referred to in the foot-notes.

LIKE Pallas Athene from the brain of Zeus, the Latin hymn sprang unheralded and mature from the mind of its creator, Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, in 374. Nothing of a preparatory nature can be discovered in the previous developments of Christian poetry in the West. We have the poems¹ of Commodian, belonging to the latter part of the third century, and written in verse that is crude, unmetrical, and even barbarous. We have the neat but jejune hymns on certain saints written by Damasus, who was Pope in 366, and whose sanguinary conflict with his rival Ursinus provokes the biting satire of Gibbon in the famous sketch, in which the historian—not unfairly—declines to be reasoned out of his estimate of an 'ambiguous character' by the blind admiration of Jerome, the Pope's friend and secretary. Finally, there is the *Historia*

¹ The *Instructiones* and *Carmen Apologeticum*. See, for a good account of these works, Boissier, *Fin du Paganisme*, vol. ii. pp. 28-43. As poetry, they are insignificant ; but they are not without importance in the history of Christian doctrine (cf. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, ii. 17, Eng. Trans.).

Evangelica of Juvencus, a Spaniard, who lived in the reign of Constantine, and whose work, based on the Gospels and describing the earthly life of Christ, is composed in most creditable Virgilian hexameters. But these writers were not in the ordinary sense of the term hymnologists; and in the first three centuries of the Western Church no well-marked evolution of the genuine Latin sacred lyric took place.

It was quite otherwise in Eastern Christendom. There the Hebrew psalms and hymns of the Old Testament naturally formed part of the heritage taken over by Christianity from Judaism. The translation of the Old Testament into Greek and the vogue of Jewish apocalyptic literature quickened the interest of the Greek-speaking Oriental populations in the spiritual messages of the Hebrew psalmists and prophets, and prepared the way for the reception of Christianity. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the early days of Christianity the supreme event of the Incarnation—the climacteric of ancient revelation and the eternal glory of the new faith—should evoke the glowing strains of the ‘Magnificat,’ the ‘Benedictus,’ and the ‘Nunc dimittis.’ These psalms of the Nativity are among the earliest productions of the Christian consciousness, and as such were the heralds of a glorious succession of Greek Christian hymns. Nor is it wonderful that in the writings of St. Paul fragments of hymnology should be detected like the ‘Awake thou that sleepest’ (Eph. v. 14), and the Incarnation stanza of 1 Tim. iii. 16¹; while there are eloquent passages in the prose poetry of his Epistles, which many would fain regard as portions of actual psalms. The famous words of Pliny,² in his letter to Trajan, prove that the practice of singing hymns, and of singing them antiphonally, was established at least among the Christians of Bithynia early in the second century. Then we have the

¹ Cf. also 1 Tim. vi. 15, 16; 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12.

² He speaks of Christians being accustomed ‘to assemble on fixed days before dawn, and to take turns in singing a hymn of praise to Christ as unto God.’

'Ter Sanctus' (*Therefore with Angels, &c.*) and the 'Gloria in Excelsis' of the English Communion service; the latter originally a morning hymn of the Alexandrian Church. There is also the famous hymn¹ of Clement of Alexandria, the ancient Vesper,² and the anonymous Greek hymns collected by Daniel, until we come down, at the end of the fourth century, to the lyrics of Ephraem Syrus and Gregory Nazianzen. Thus in Eastern Christianity there was a regular development of sacred hymnology—a well-defined sequence of cause and effect.

Doubtless some of these Greek hymns, in the form of Latin translations, passed into use in the Western Church. We know this was the case with the 'Gloria in Excelsis,' which was introduced into Rome in the reign of Hadrian; but the fact remains that there is nothing handed down in the concrete form of a native Latin hymn in the Christian literature of the West during the first three centuries. Latin, let us remember, was destined to be for hundreds of years the medium of cultivated speech and writing in the ecclesiastical life of Europe. Compared with Greek, it may be too rigid and inflexible for the highest expression of the lyrical genius. Nevertheless, there was a rich and ample treasury of classical verse to inspire the Christian poet, who might be tempted to set forth the new faith in the forms that were recognized as the standards of literary perfection. Perhaps there was an instinctive shrinking from the perilous process of pouring the new wine into the old bottles. Christianity completely revolutionized the thought and ideals of paganism. The ancient religions of Rome were venerable but moribund forms, when Christianity was introduced into the empire. Not even the brilliant advocacy of a philosophic conservative like Julian could galvanize them into life; and his attempt to establish a 'Catholic

¹ Beginning *Στάμον πάλων ἀδαῶν* : a hymn of praise to Christ.

² Translated by Canon Bright, 'Light of gladness, beam divine,' from the original, *ὥς λαπὸν ἀγίας δόξης*; see also another rendering, 'Hail, gladdening light' (No. 18, *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, new edition), by Keble.

Church of Hellenism' was a tragic failure. The progress of Christianity was chequered by suspicion, contempt, and persecution; but it was sure. August and splendid though the fabric of paganism was, it was gradually loosened until it crumbled into the dust. The Galilean conquered, and the Cross achieved an undying supremacy in the empire.

Now, in the early days of the transition from classical to Christian poetry, there was no marked reaction against the ancient forms of Roman literature. Doubtless these had been employed in the praise of the heathen gods; but what other forms were available for the apologist and the interpreter of Christianity? In the case of Prudentius there was a certain pride, as well as a deliberate purpose, in the employment of the classical metres for expounding the new faith. But gradually, perhaps less as the result of prejudice than from the force of circumstances, new elements entered into sacred poetry. First, the introduction of chanting hastened on the substitution of accent for quantity. Quantity, as Trench has pointed out, could no longer be maintained as the basis of harmony; and accent, 'which is essentially popular, appealing to the common sense of every ear,' took its place. Secondly, a tendency to rhyme made its appearance. Middle and final rhymes are found in isolated cases in the poetry of Ennius, Virgil, Ovid, and others; but rhyme is only, so to speak, an accidental feature in classical verse. In the poetry of Christendom, however, rhyme, which is peculiar to all languages, soon became a permanent element. The transition from the primitive form of the Latin hymn to the mediaeval rhymed verse was gradual but inevitable. We find rhyme making its appearance as early as Damasus, whose hymns to the saints have already been mentioned. We find it also in the hymns of Hilary of Poitiers.

Chronologically, Hilary, who was Bishop of Poitiers in 353, stands before Ambrose. He was known as the 'Hammer of the Arians,' and is more eminent as a theologian than as a hymn-writer. He had some knowledge of Greek—a rare gift in contemporary scholarship—and is

said to have introduced, though without success, into the churches of Gaul the Eastern use of chanting hymns in worship. It is possible that his own compositions were imitations, if not translations, of Greek originals. For a long time he was held to be the author of the 'Te Deum,' until an inexorable criticism relegated that noblest of chants—a hymn that is a creed, and a creed that is a hymn—to the fifth century, and pronounced it to be the production of an unknown genius. Daniel prints seven hymns under his name. Here are the first three verses of the best known of these—a morning hymn :

Lucis largitor splendide,
Cuius sereno lumine
Post lapsa noctis tempora
Dies refusus panditur.

Tu verus mundi Lucifer,
Non is, qui parvi sideris
Venturae lucis nuntius
Angusto fulget lumine.

Sed toto sole clarior
Lux ipse totus et dies,
Interna nostri pectoris
Illuminans praeordia.

Glorious Almoner of light,
From whose depths upon our sight
Pure unfolds returning day,
When the dark hath fled away.

Thou, the world's true Morning star,
Dost not dimly shine afar,
Like day's harbinger that gleams,
Tiny orb, with niggard beams.

Clearer than the full-orbed sun,
Thou art Light and Day in one ;
Thou our thoughts dost penetrate
And our hearts illuminate.

But Hilary occupies a secondary position in relation to Ambrose, the real creator of the Christian lyric of the West. Ambrose, who was born about 340, was Bishop of Milan in the stormy days of the Arian controversy. The successor of the Arian Auxentius, he was elected to the position by popular acclamation. The instinct of the crowd—not always sure, but in this case justified by events—drew them naturally to the strong, practical man, ready for a crisis and not afraid of a fight. He was an ardent anti-Arian. This is proved by one of the best-authenticated stories of his episcopate, and the incident is of prime importance in the history of hymnology. The Empress Justina had assigned the Portian Basilica for the use of the Arians. Both bishop and people, regarding the act as a treachery to the Catholic faith, rose in rebellion and resolved at least passively to

resist. The church was filled and occupied by a multitude of citizens drawn from all ranks; outside stood the imperial troops waiting the turn of events, but making no direct attack. A happy thought came to Ambrose. If the spirits of the beleaguered orthodox were to be kept up during the long vigils, something must be done. He determined that the weary hours should be spent in singing; and therefore he set to work to compose hymns, and when completed he ordered them to be sung. Augustine, who narrates the event in the *Confessions* (ix. 7), goes on to say, in a kind of solemn apostrophe, 'From that day to this it [the custom] has been retained, and many, I might say all Thy flocks, throughout the rest of the world now follow our example.' When the greatest sorrow of his life came, in the death of his mother Monica, he tells us how he repeated the first eight lines of Ambrose's *Deus creator omnium*, and thereby found comfort in the bitterness of his bereavement. Our minds hark back to that scene in the Portian Basilica of Milan, when the simple hymns of Ambrose, chanted by the united congregation, thrilled them with a sense of their spiritual unity and of the Divine Presence which helped them in their conflict for the truth; and we are reminded of the spectacle witnessed in recent days of devout companies in Welsh chapels moved as by a common impulse to sing familiar hymns, and aroused by the weird, pathetic melodies of their language into a strange expectancy and joy. After all, the hymn is a mystic link which binds centuries together and unites the early saints of Christ with those of later days.

When we read the four-lined iambic dimeters of Ambrose, we are at first repelled by a certain coldness, an unlyrical plainness, an almost prosaic matter-of-factness in their diction. Here are the very effusions that might be expected from the man of action turned poet! But let us look a little closer. Like Horace's *Pyrrha*, each poem is *simplex munditiis*—neat, correct, and simple. There is no solecism of style, and rarely a breach of metrical law. The metre used is the least responsive, the most rigid of the Latin lyrical forms; and yet it is the favourite of these primitive

Western hymn-writers. There is much force in the admirable comment of Trench on 'the profound, though it may have been more instructive than conscious, wisdom' of the poet in choosing such a metre. 'It is as though, building an altar to the living God, he would observe the Levitical precept and rear it of unhewn stones, upon which no tool had been lifted.' There are about a dozen hymns that may be safely ascribed to Ambrose. Migne prints about eighty more that can only be called 'Ambrosian.' Judged by the canons of artistic criticism, they are not without literary defects; but who would think of comparing Keats' 'Ode on a Grecian Urn' even with a hymn of the poetic qualities of 'Lead, kindly Light'? A hymn, after all, is not a work of art to be analysed and classified by subtle literary perception; its value, and even its beauty, consists in its capacity to reflect the aspirations and needs of the human heart in communion with God. From that point of view, the rugged simplicity of Ambrose's hymns, the very monotony of the rhythm, and the lucidity of the thought are to be regarded as features which explain the immediate success and subsequent vogue of these lyrics in the worship of the Church. Here are five verses of Ambrose's famous hymn *De Adventu Domini*:—

Veni, Redemptor gentium,
Ostende partum virginis:
Miretur omne seculum;
Talis decet partus Deum.

Non ex virili semine,
Sed mystico spiramine,
Verbum Dei factum est caro
Fructusque ventris floruit.

Egressus eius a Patre,
Regressus eius ad Patrem,
Excursus usque ad inferos,
Recursus ad sedem Dei.

Aequalis aeterno Patri,
Carnis tropaeo accingere,
Infirma nostri corporis
Virtute firmans perpeti.

Come, O world's Redeemer, come,
Offspring of a virgin's womb:
Rapt in wonder be the earth!
Worthy God is such a birth.

Not man's will begat our Lord,
But the Mystic Breath adored;
Flesh the Word of God was made,
Grew in human form displayed.

From the Father did He come;
To the Father sped Him home;
Low in Hades He was pent,
Ere to God's right hand He went.

One with God, Eternal Word,
Robe of flesh upon Thee gird;
And with Thine own deathless might
Arm our weakness for the fight.

Praesepe iam fulget tuum,
Lumenque nox spirat novum,
Quod nulla nox interpolet,
Fideque ingi luceat.

Gleams Thy cradle through the night,
Breathes upon the world Thy Light;
Dawn unclouded, ever shine,
Pierce our faith with rays divine.

The thought, as in the case of Hilary, is simple. These earliest hymns, composed in the days of a militant Arianism, dwell much on the mystery of the Incarnation. The Nativity and its attendant wonders thrilled the imagination of the West. The Advent of Christ is invariably associated with the elemental facts of light and darkness. It is the New Dawn that is to banish for ever the world's night. Each returning day is a symbol of the divine Dayspring; while the shades of evening suggest the secret hosts of evil, whose power has been broken for ever by the Light of the World. The Ambrosian hymns are largely inspired by the hours of the ecclesiastical day—lauds, prime, terce, sext, nones, vespers, compline; but, curiously enough, it is the freshness of the morning which is the most frequent theme. Four of Hilary's seven hymns are matutinal; and there are fifteen morning hymns in the Ambrosian collection, not counting those *ad laudes* which also deal with the day's opening hours. Our last quotation, however, shall be an evening hymn—the hymn which comforted Augustine in his sorrow. It is a genuine utterance of Ambrose, illustrating the clear-cut simplicity of his diction and the strong ethical strain which pervades his thought; breathing, too, the peace and sense of freedom born of the departing day:—

Deus creator omnium
Polique rector, vestiens
Diem decoro lumine,
Noctem soporis gratia.

God of all things, Maker blest,
King of Heaven, Thou dost invest
Day with shining robes of light
And with grateful sleep the night.

Artus solutos ut quies
Reddat laboris usui,
Mentesque fessos allevet
Luctusque solvat anxios.

Rest steals o'er our wearied powers,
Breathing strength for toilsome hours,
Giving outworn minds relief,
Calming every anxious grief.

Grates peracto iam die
Et noctis exortu preces
Votis, reos ut adiuves,
Hymnum canentes solvimus.

Thanks to Thee at close of day,
'Mid the gathering gloom we pay:
Prayer and hymn shall mingled rise
To our Helper in the skies.

Te cordis ima concinant,
Te vox canora concrepet,
Te diligat castus amor,¹
Te mens adorat sobria.

Ut cum profunda clausurit
Diem caligo noctium,
Fides tenebras nesciat
Et nox fide reluceat.

Dormire mentem ne sinas,
Dormire culpa noverit,
Castos fides refrigerans
Somni vaporem temperet.

Exuta sensu lubrico
Te cordis alta somnient,
Ne hostis invidi dolo
Pavor quietos suscitet.

Christum rogemus et Patrem,
Christi Patrisque spiritum,
Unum potens per omnia
Fove precantes Trinitas.

Thee let our full hearts adore,
Praise to Thee our lips outpour :
Spotless be our love to Thee,
Rise our vows from lightness free.

So when darkness deep enshrouds
Day with pall of murky clouds,
Let faith feel no darkness near,
Faith that lights the midnight drear.

O defend our souls from sleep,
Seal our sin in slumber deep ;
Let faith chasten our desires,
Temper night's unholy fires.

Free us from impurity :
May our dreams lift us to Thee,
Lest the tempter's jealous might
Vex with fear our rest this night.

God the Father, Christ the Son,
Blessed Spirit, ever one ;
Hear, Almighty Trinity,
Bless us as we pray to Thee.

When we turn to Prudentius, we are at once conscious of a contrast. If Ambrose is the practical man turned poet, Prudentius is a poet born. Ambrose writes for the people, Prudentius for cultivated society. Ambrose confines himself to one metre, and handles it with a rugged and simple, if unpolished, effectiveness. Prudentius ranges with equal ease over every kind of metre—hexameter, sapphic, trochaic, iambic; while his style is finished and his Latinity, though of course of the Silver Age, attains a remarkable pitch of classical grace and correctness. His story, from the religious point of view, has something of the charm of romance. Practically all that we know of him, he tells us himself in the *Praefatio*, which is a kind of miniature autobiography in verse. A Spaniard, native of Saragossa, born in 348, he rose to a high position in the civil or military service, winning

¹ The reader will note the substitution of the accentual beat for quantity in this line, *Te diligat castus amor*; by the ordinary laws of metre, *castus* with a short final syllable is indefensible. The following quatrain gives us well-marked final rhymes in the third and fourth lines.

special recognition from the emperor. He was converted to Christianity, how and when is unknown. The change was complete. Looking back on his life, even the special pleadings of his barrister career can only be described as falsehoods; his days had been wasted in vain and frivolous dissipations, and here perhaps we can detect a genuine confession. Grey hairs are mantling over his brow; he is fifty-seven years old¹; what can he do for Christ in the fragment of life left to him? His path is clear. He will consecrate his muse to God, dethrone the deities of Rome, expound the Catholic faith, and glorify the Christian martyrs and apostles. He may indeed be only 'a vessel of earth,' but

Quidquid illud accidit,

iuuabit ore personasse Christum.

Whate'er the end, this thought will joy
afford,

My lips have sung the praises of my
Lord.² (R. F. D.)

This touch is one of the most pathetic things in fourth-century literature; it occurs in the *Epilogus*—a little poem, again full of the personal note—which is a sort of after-word to his poems. As Mr. Glover remarks in his *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, we feel that here is a true man.

Prudentius is many-sided. He is theologian, allegorist, martyrologist. His treatises in excellent hexameters on the divinity of Christ (*Apotheosis*), and the Origin of Evil (*Hamartigeneia*); his *Psychomachia*; or, *The Battle of the Soul*—an allegorical picture of the eternal conflict between virtue and vice; and his *Peristephanon*—a series of poems on the Christian martyrs, chiefly of Spain—indicate remarkably varied poetic gifts and intellectual interests. But our concern is with Prudentius the hymnologist. We have a series of twelve hymns for the Christian's day bearing the Greek title

¹ It is possible, of course, that the preface was written as an introduction to his poems, when these were collected as a whole, and that Prudentius began his poetical career at an earlier age than fifty-seven.

² It may be mentioned that the translations of Prudentius's hymns are taken from the edition of the *Cathemerinon* recently published (Dent's 'Temple Classics'), and prepared by the writer in collaboration with Mr. R. F. Davis, M.A. Mr. Davis's renderings will be distinguished by his initials.

of *Cathemerinon*. This may be called the first Christian hymn-book of the Western Church. But at once we recognize that it is intended for devotional rather than ecclesiastical use. It is true that in the various breviaries—Mozarabic, Sarum, Roman—excerpts from these and other poems of Prudentius are found in the form of hymns, and have been sung as such since the seventh century, just as fragments from Keble's *Christian Year* are incorporated as complete hymns in ordinary hymn-books; but the main object of Prudentius is the writing of a volume of Christian poems in classical metres that will recall Horace and Virgil to literary minds. He sets himself to interest the cultured classes of the empire in the spiritual message of Christianity, and to expound the new faith in its beauty and variety under aspects that will appeal to the educated intelligence. He is distinctly the first great Christian poet—'the Virgil and Horace of the Christians,' says Bentley; 'the most eloquent of all Christian poets,' says Erasmus, an earlier admirer.

A glance at the first two hymns—one for cock-crowing, beginning *Ales diei nuntius*; the other for sunrise, beginning *Nox et tenebrae et nubila*, shows us that Prudentius owed something to Ambrose. Not only are they written in the favourite iambic metre of Ambrose, but they remind us of the ideas of the earlier writer. The cock proclaims a new day; but his notes are symbolic of Christ's voice, calling upon sluggards to arise, and are prophetic of the final call to the judgement. Away, therefore, with the things of darkness! The poet then digresses to the story of Peter's denial, with its obvious moral. The second hymn begins by noting the growing light of the dawn; that, in turn, suggests the light of the divine righteousness, which reveals and condemns every kind of evil; the thought then passes to the life and work of the day, and an interesting personal note is struck. The poet enumerating the various callings—of soldier, rhetorician, husbandman, trader—speaks of his own; he is a scholar seeking to know Christ alone (*te, Christe, solum novimus*). The victory of light over darkness is illustrated by some vigorous stanzas on wrestling Jacob, and the hymn

ends with a prayer for deliverance from evil thoughts, words, and deeds throughout the day. In the third hymn—a hymn before meat—the poet is seen at his best. He writes in a vivacious dactylic metre, whose breezy movement carries the reader along. If rendered exactly into English, it hardly conveys the combined dignity and cheerfulness of the original; just as an English hexameter can never do justice to its Greek or Latin original—cannot, for example, reproduce ‘the thunder and surge’ of the *Odyssey*, or the splendid stateliness of the *Aeneid*. The poet makes his hymn a song of thanksgiving; but no wreaths are to adorn the singer’s brow in the sober Christian feast:

Sperne camena leves hederas
cingere tempora quis solita es,
sertaque mystica dactylico
texere docta liga strophio,
laude Dei redimita comas.

Scorn, my Muse, light ivy leaves
Wherewith custom wreathed thy brow;
Love a mystic crown conceives
And a rhythmic garland weaves;
Bind on thee God’s praises now.

And thus he passes to a survey of the wealth of nature provided by the Almighty for His creatures—the birds of the air, the fish of river and sea, the golden wheat of the harvest-fields, the vineyards bursting into fresh tendrils, the pale olives, the milk and honey, the orchard fruits. He praises God for his pulsing life-blood, for the gift of speech, and, above all, for his spiritual being. At this point, the remembrance of man’s creation leads the poet off to the story of the Fall, which is related in some detail; thence to the Incarnation, which broke the power of evil; and, finally, to the resurrection of the body, which inspires the hope that his own mortal remains, embalmed and at rest within the tomb, shall abide in the keeping of the risen Christ until summoned to the stars above. And here we may note that Prudentius had a first-hand knowledge of the Catacombs; he had studied their pathetic inscriptions, and, above all, their frescoes and bas-reliefs, the immortal records of early Christian art. It is evident from the symbolism of his poems that he was deeply impressed by the spectacle of subterranean Rome, and all that he saw confirmed his faith in the doctrine of the resurrection—a doctrine which undoubtedly aided Chris-

tianity in its appeal to the spiritual consciousness of the empire, and largely explains its swift progress. Prudentius elaborates the theme in his ninth hymn—for the Burial of the Dead—one of the most beautiful expressions of faith and hope in the literature of this century, and destined to become the favourite funeral hymn of the Protestants of Germany from the days of the Reformation onward. It has already been mentioned that the circumstances of the Nativity had a wonderful charm for the Western world; while, of course, no Christian thinker of the orthodox type in those days could ignore the interpretation of the Incarnation given by the Nicene Creed. Hence we have, in addition to the funeral hymn, two others (xi. and xii.¹) for the special festivals of Christmas Day and Epiphany, containing some splendid passages from which it were tempting to quote; suffice it, however, to say that all succeeding odes on the Nativity, Milton's included, have been influenced by these noble products of the poetic art. The remaining poems of the *Catemerinon* are strictly for the events of each day; it is difficult sometimes to say whether for the domestic or ecclesiastical day, or for both; these hymns are entitled, 'After Meat,' 'For the Lighting of the Lamps,' 'Before Sleep,' 'For Fasting,' 'After Fasting,' and 'For all Hours.' Of these one of the most picturesque is that for the lighting of the evening lamps—doubtless the lighting of lamps in the churches, with a kind of side-reference to the special illumination of Easter Eve. Here are the first three verses:

Inventor rutili, dux bone, luminis,	Blest Lord, Creator of the glowing light,
qui certis vicibus tempora dividis,	At whose behest the hours succe- sive move,
merso sole chaos ingruit horridum,	The sun has set: black darkness broods above:
lucem redde tuis Christe fidelibus.	Christ! light Thy faithful through the coming night.

¹ The two famous excerpts *O sola magnarum urbium* and *Salvete flores martyrum* were given by this poem as hymns to the Roman Breviary.

Quamvis innumero sidere regiam	Thy courts are lit with stars unnum- bered,
lunarique polum lampade pinxeris,	And in the cloudless vault the pale moon rides;
incussu silicis lumina nos tamen	Yet Thou dost bid us seek the fire that hides
monstras saxigeno semine quaerere :	Till swift we strike it from its flinty bed.
Ne nesciret homo spem sibi luminis	So man may learn that in Christ's body came
in Christi solido corpore conditam,	The hidden hope of light to mortals given :
qui dici stabilem se voluit petram,	He is the Rock—'tis His own word— that riven
nostris igniculis unde genus venit.	Sends forth to all our race the eternal flame. (R. F. D.)

There is a certain mystical beauty in the idea that as the spark is struck from the flint, so light for all the world emanates from the riven Body of Christ the Rock. Would that the poet had pursued these fancies of the imagination! But, *more suo*, he digresses at once to the Old Testament, the story of the burning bush, the deliverance of Israel from Pharaoh, the pillar of fire, and the waters of Marah. Breaking off from the story of Israel, he returns to Christ and the truth of the Incarnation. The Incarnation leads on, as usual, to the doctrine of the Resurrection; and then we have another favourite *motif*, the descent into Hades, which is vividly depicted as bringing a short-lived solace and respite from pain to the spirits of the lost. The Easter Eve celebration of the Holy Communion is next suggested, with the thought of Christ as the world's True Light, and the poem ends with a burst of adoring praise to the Trinity.

Before leaving Prudentius, one observation may be made. No one can help noticing his tendency to digress from the main theme into the tempting field of Old and New Testament history. Artistically, this may be a defect; but it is possible that the poet has a definite aim. Paganism had its world of mythological and legendary beauty, which still charmed the cultivated intellect instinct with the sense of antiquity, and alive to the splendour of the old traditions. It was not easy for the advocate of Christianity to counteract

the glowing patriotism which lay deep-seated in hearts fully conscious that the ancient lore and customs of the national faith could no longer hold their own. Minds of this order seemed to be 'moving between two worlds, one dead, the other,' so far as their natural inclinations were concerned, 'powerless to be born.' Whatever might be the inherent power, and however satisfying the message of Christianity, the charm of antique grace, 'the golden stain of time' rested on the crumbling, ruined fabric of the *primaeval* religion. Could anything in Christianity take the place of this glorious heritage of myth and tradition, handed down from olden days and hallowed by noble historic associations? The answer of Prudentius was to unfold the treasures of the Bible, and especially the Old Testament with its wealth of miraculous incident, its theophanies, its supernatural deliverances and visitations, all leading up to the wondrous Figure of the Son of Man, God manifest in the flesh, born of a Virgin, and dowered with a true humanity. This explanation may not indeed convince the modern critic who is inclined to smile at the well-meaning but hopeless task of interpreting Christianity in the old classical forms. The fact, however, remains that Prudentius made the attempt; he did not achieve the highest rank in the literature of his language; but for the motive which dictated his work, as well as for the work itself, the Christian world must ever hold him in honour as one of the most notable poets of the faith, not only in his own day, but in all ages.

It was inevitable that the question would soon arise as to the relation between music and spirituality in the worship of the Church; and it is not surprising that Augustine should be the first to raise the point. Augustine is not a hymnologist;¹ but he is our greatest authority on the psalmody of this age. In the beautiful thirty-third chapter of the tenth book of *Confessions* we have one of the earliest

¹ The noble hymn *Ad perennis vitae fontem*, &c., 'On the joys of Paradise,' printed under his name in Daniel's *Thesaurus*, is now assigned by critics (cf. Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, pp. 13, 278, 1549) to Damiani (1002-1072).

discussions of the time-honoured problem of the relationship of art and religion. We cannot now follow the writer into a treatment of this large question; suffice it to say, on the one aspect which for the time enchains his attention, his views represent a sound spiritual philosophy. While recognizing the appropriateness and utility of music in divine worship, for himself he confesses that to be moved rather by the song than the thing sung is a grievous sin, from which he would fain be spared, even if it involved the sacrifice of the music.

We have now reached the beginning of the fifth century, and enter on a period unproductive of great hymn-writers. We pass over the undistinguished names of Coelius Sedulius, Ennodius, and Elpis, although the latter—wife of Boethius, the author of the *De consolatione philosophiae*—may be regarded as the first of the noble succession of lady hymn-writers. It is no part of our purpose to deal even cursorily with the historical consequences of the sack of Rome by Alaric in 410, and the subsequent invasion of the northern barbarians. The decline of the empire synchronized with the growing influence of the Church; and it was to the Church as representing the eternal spiritual order, stable and unshaken amidst the crash and ruin of the imperial system, that the eyes of the Roman world turned as their only hope and refuge. In Gregory the Great, last of the four famous 'Doctors' of the Church, who succeeded to the papacy in 590, the Church had a leader endowed with a vast ecclesiastical ideal, by no means out of harmony with his own intellectual and spiritual attainments. Gregory and Venantius Fortunatus are the chief ornaments of the hymnology of the closing years of the sixth century. If the former has written nothing of the noble qualities of the *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, which was formerly but erroneously ascribed to him, his hymns have the merit of simplicity, directness, and ethical force; in these respects Gregory stands in the succession of Ambrose. On the other hand, Venantius Fortunatus, the earlier writer, represents the classical tradition of Prudentius. Gregory hated the classics; Venantius Fortunatus, who was a kind of troubadour before the age of chivalry, a court poet

of Gaul, and the idol of great nobles and their ladies before he became a priest, reveals the more genial and tolerant tastes of a man of the world. Not, indeed, that the religious convictions of the future Bishop of Poitiers were shallow and superficial; but his verse is marked by a love of pretty conceits, and by a lyrical richness and sparkle, which is more Provençal than ecclesiastical. Take, for example, the brilliant *Pange lingua gloriosi*, composed in the trochaic metre—the metre of *Locksley Hall*; here are the first four verses:

Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis, Et super crucis tropaeo dic triumphum nobilem, Qualiter redemptor orbis immolatus vicerit.	Sound abroad the strain and anguish of my Lord's most glorious fight: With a paean loud, triumphant, glorify the Cross of light, Where the world's Redeemer hanging vanquished all the hosts of night.
De parentis protoplasti fraude factor condolens, Quando pomi noxialis morsu in mortem corruit, Ipse lignum tunc notavit damna ligni ut solveret.	He that made us, sorely grieving at the prime iniquity, When the baleful fruit on Adam brought Death's awful penalty, Marked e'en then a Tree to save us from the curse of Eden's tree.
Hoc opus nostrae salutis ordo depoposcerat, Multiformis proditoris ars ut artem falleret, Et medelam ferret inde hostis unde laeserat.	From the first for our salvation He the mystic plan conceived, By Love's art the Foe to baffle, who with traitorous art deceived, And thereout to bring the healing whence the hurt was first received.
Quando venit ergo sacri plenitudo temporis, Missus est ab arce patris natus orbis conditor, Atque ventre virginali caro factus prodiit.	Then at length, when now the fullness of the holy time had come, He was sent, the world's Creator, from His Father's lofty home, And in mortal form was fashioned, offspring of a maiden's womb.

In addition to the above, we have the striking hymns *Vexilla regis prodeunt*,¹ *Salve festa dies* (an Easter hymn),

¹ See, for a translation of this hymn by Dr. Neale, the new *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, No. 106; and of *Salve festa dies* (an Easter processional), by Dr. A. J. Mason, No. 144 in the same collection.

and *Crux benedicta nitet*, which have won for Fortunatus the eulogy of hymnologists like Daniel and Dr. Neale.

We have now reached the threshold of the Middle Ages. The form of the Latin hymn is fixed. Latin hymnody is fairly launched on its glorious career. The pieties of monasticism were favourable to its growth. Religious houses, already numerous, began to be multiplied all over Europe. Benedict, towards the middle of the fifth century, had founded the first of the great religious orders of the West, soon afterwards to establish itself in the world-famed monastery of Monte Cassino. We see even now the beginnings of Mariolatry; but not the rank and unwholesome growths of a later age. The emphasis has already been transferred in sacred poetry from the Incarnation to the Crucifixion; yet the Crucified is more than the Cross even in the fanciful verse of Fortunatus, the Cross more than the crucifix. The hymn has now its recognized place in the devotional life and worship of the Church, whatever changes may yet take place in its form and to whatever perilous influences it may be subjected in days to come. Already, from many a cell and cloister, from houses of prayer amid Alpine snows 'sparkling to the moon,' in the deep pine-woods of Central Europe, and by the grey stormy waters of northern islands, the lyrics of the Christian faith wing their way upward to the Lord of heaven and earth. Even the condensed Latin speech in which alone they are sung, becomes, so to speak, transfigured and takes on a new richness and glow from its hallowed service in the praises of the Church. There are great names yet to come in the roll of hymnologists—Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas of Celano, Adam of St. Victor, and many another; and we see rising before us the mighty edifice of mediaeval hymnology, like a vast temple, fair and magnificent. Perhaps a future opportunity may enable us to explore some portion of the wealth of that glorious treasury.

R. MARTIN POPE.

A REVIVED JUDAISM: IS IT POSSIBLE ?

The Modern Jew. By ARNOLD WHITE. (Grant Richards. 1902.)

Jewish Ideals. By JOSEPH JACOBS. (David Nutt. 1901.)

Judaism as Creed and Life. By the Rev. MORRIS JOSEPH. (Macmillan. 1902-3.)

‘**I**N the multitude of counsellors there is safety.’ That utterance has not been fulfilled in the case of the descendants of those who gave it to us. Judaism at the present day is ruined, or at any rate almost ruined, by the ‘multitude of counsellors.’ Divisions, sects, splits increase; and, if they do not issue in the actual formation of new societies or synagogues, the results are much the same. The effects are seen in the old bodies and synagogues, and may be summed up in lack of unity, ill-veiled opposition, and constant bickerings and disputations. There may be exceptions here, but they only, as in other cases, prove the rule. If such do exist, it means an assumption of superiority, and a holding of themselves aloof, as if they were so secure in their own virtue that they need no aid to it from real concern or effort for the welfare of less fortunate brethren, or giving up aught for their sakes.

Look at the position and the well-marked classes into which English Judaism may to-day be divided. There is first, as there is in all religious communities, the strict and unyielding orthodox party, which will listen to no change or modification—to whom the most trifling point of ritual is as important as the most serious question of ethics. Here meet, truly, the high and the low—the rich and the poor come together. The orthodox party includes, on one side, the

wealthy, who can pull the purse-strings; and, on the other, the poor alien of the East End, who, as an active worker among the Jew ladies has said, would die of hunger rather than eat from the tables of many of the rich, because the food eaten by them in their fine houses is not strictly *kosher*. Then there are the liberals, as they would call themselves, who would yield much in points like these; they stand in a certain respect between the orthodox and the 'reformers,' whose zeal in certain respects may be said to have eaten them up as Jews, and who would sweep aside what are indeed the essentials of Judaism. Mr. Morris Joseph's able book must be named here as effective. These extremists would do away with circumcision, banish Hebrew very largely, if not altogether, from the services, let men and women meet on the floors of the synagogue, and translate the grand old Judaic observance into a kind of thin Unitarian parody. Then comes a contingent of those who yet rank themselves as Jews, but who go to synagogue only once or twice a year and favour free-thinking openly in most important matters. Then there are the Zionites and the anti-Zionites—the followers of the late lamented Herzl, the adherents of Mr. Zangwill, and the supporters of Mr. Lucien Wolf, who declares that Zionism is but a dream, that the wealthy Jews, orthodox or heterodox, are well content to be where they are and what they are, and who, in opposition to Dr. Herzl, do believe that 'money can do everything.' Then there are bodies of women, desiring to instruct, elevate, and organize Jewish women. All honour to them, surely, for their work and ideal, which many of the cultured Jews, with sublime contradiction, declare that Judaism now lacks, and has no hope of again finding—the complexities and demands of modern life being all too much for it. They are supported by the large band of what we may call detached Jews, not a few of whom have completed their detachment by the enormity of 'mixed marriages,' who set Jewish ethics above all else, and declare that the bulk of synagogue-going Jews are without conviction. They are earnest men in their own way and thoughtful. In most cases they have literary gifts and are

eloquent, and do most decidedly exert a powerful influence over large sections of young Jews. We might go further and speak of the lapsed and indifferent in their many circles; what we have said will suffice to give the reader an idea of the welter of contending opinions and counsels, which is sapping the foundations of English Judaism, with little promise of power to put anything substantial and sufficing in its place.

Is, then, English Judaism to pass, to disappear, or, like some streams that vanish underground, to be finally absorbed and coloured to quite a different tint from that which it formerly bore? We do not believe it—in spite of so many distressing symptoms; we do not desire it, for, in such case, much would be lost, much that is peculiar, irrecoverable, and precious for civilization and religion and the world. But some vital changes *are* necessary: some great reforms, mainly lying in very different directions from those in which now they are mostly sought by those chiefly concerned; changes that can only come from the infusion of a new, or rather of an old spirit: the spirit that can sacrifice personal ambitions and sense of self-consequence for a great cause—the root of ethical and spiritual progress—in realization of the words that he ‘who doeth the will of God shall know of the doctrine’! Let us then shortly glance at a few of the most striking illustrations of these divided counsels and perversities, that we may with the more effect bring into view what we sincerely believe is the only true path back to real unity, life, and fellowship in the Jewish as in any other religious community, which may exist and be maintained for many ends—all of which will prove profitless and unavailing without the leaven of this larger and more chastened and charitable spirit.

I.

Four names inevitably come to the front in any view of the problems now presented to the Jewish community—names of men who have made themselves notable by continuous and persevering efforts, in their own idea, to make the

rough places plain. These are Mr. I. Zangwill, Mr. Samuel Gordon, Mr. Claude Montefiore, and Mr. Joseph Jacobs. Mr. Zangwill has waxed great on the materialized conceptions of Jews, saying from other points of view what Mr. J. H. Levy from his point of view has effectively said, that the ordinary Jew now cares nothing about religion, and uses it only for social and other ends. Yet, while Mr. Zangwill speaks and writes in this way, at another time we find him declaring that 'Jewry is not bound by ties of blood, but by a *spiritual idea*.' If this is so—if Mr. Zangwill's words really mean what they seem to do, how comes it that such differences and oppositions arise in regard to any great practical effort for improvement and reform such as he would favour—on such questions as Zionism, for example? It ought not so to arise—'a spiritual idea' is surely akin to an ideal, if not actually one with it. If the Jews are to-day as of old bound together by a spiritual idea beyond the bonds of blood, why did Dr. Herzl need to go mourning over things as they were, and to press and pray for some one to give the Jews an ideal? One thing is clear, that, if indeed a spiritual idea binds them, and not blood, it acts to separate them from each other, if still it perversely unites them to some who will not accept or share their 'spiritual idea' or ideal. And here, alas! comes in chaos the moment that new efforts are made for exactly that which Mr. Zangwill declares that he wants. With the extremely orthodox, Mr. Zangwill is and must be really far more at loggerheads than he is with the Viennese Jews whom he despises.

Mr. Samuel Gordon follows very faithfully in the footsteps of Mr. Zangwill as regards the Jews' wonderful restorative religious influence.

This danger of heterodoxy, of religious disintegration, which is threatening Jewry and Judaism with extinction, is only a danger which runs on all fours with that which is threatening the civilized world in general. It is the spirit of the age, or perhaps, rather, the agedness of the spirit, which is causing the mischief. . . . The process of de-Judaization, which it is contended we are undergoing,

is only, I consider, the parallel to the process of de-Christianization which, despite much apparent theological and liturgical activity, is sweeping the modern mind before it. And, therefore, all that we can deduce from the ravages of the apostatic movement is that we are *ceasing to be Jews only at the same rate that the European world is ceasing to be Christian*. Well, you will answer, this may be all very true, but however true it may be, it is only cold comfort, and you will be asking me where my vaunted optimism comes in. It comes in, I say, in my belief in that most potent factor which dominates the economy of our human nature—I mean *the law of reaction*. The heterodox movement—using the phrase in its broadest sense—will no doubt have its period of ascendancy; but as long as we don't show ourselves too alarmed about it, and give it all the rope it requires, we can rest assured that it will entangle and strangle itself. I have also sufficient faith in ourselves to believe that *we Jews will be the first to feel the promptings of this religious renaissance. We shall be the first to awaken to a sense of the value of average. . . . We shall prove to the world that if it persists in allowing its emotion to die of inanition, it will surely and as an inevitable consequence kill its intellect by hypertrophy*; and we shall become modern instances of the Menenius Agrippa of old, the same who, you will remember, saved the Roman Commonwealth by telling the populace his fable of the belly and its members. But, *unlike Menenius Agrippa, the result of our moral will be, not to conduct the rebellious nations back from the Mons Sacer to the Forum, the market-places, but from the market-places back to the Mons Sacer, the Holy Mountain, the sacred dwelling-places of the Lord*.¹

Anything more eloquent, but at the same time more fatally contradictory and illogical, I never read. Religion has lapsed, been sucked away under rationalistic and material and Stock Exchange and average devotions, and is to be restored by return on the law of reaction and value of average! Judaism is in its death-throes, but, behold, it is to become alive again at a touch of the rod, and the rod is the spirit of the market-place, the Exchange, and the law of reaction and the value of average. It reminds

¹ Speech at the Maccabaeian dinner, January 20, 1901, replying to Mr. Zangwill's toast—the health of Mr. Samuel Gordon.

me of a remark by a certain journalist about Rhodes, that he believed everything could be done by merely signing cheques, even the converting of men's souls.

In some articles on Alien Immigration into England, I find the same revelation of the law of reaction and value of average, as interpreted by Mr. Arnold White and several others, much to Mr. Samuel Gordon's confirmation and support. Professor Robertson Smith speaks of 'an ideal which, amidst all the puerilities of Talmudic theology, and all the absurdities of Talmudic ceremonial, has never ceased to direct the heart of the worshipper away from the world of sense to the things that are unseen and eternal';¹ where, as Mr. Samuel Gordon would demurely say, the law 'of reaction and the value of average "are supreme"—clearly discerned of the Jews—a revelation they will by no means selfishly keep to themselves.' The pyramid is no longer on its base, but on its peak. The law of reaction and the value of average, do they control the spiritual idea and not the blood, or how is it? I pause for a reply. Mr. Zangwill is clear: the spiritual idea links, the blood does hardly link.

Mr. Samuel Gordon agrees with Miss Lily Montagu here—with a closeness alike pleasant and surprising. He knows the Ghetto and the East-End Jews so well, and pictures them truly; and he declares that 'though we have our black sheep, our gamblers, our rack-renters, our would-be anarchists, apart from these East-End Jewry is morally sound, and is likely to remain so; it has not been overtaken by any constitutional taint, any organic corruption'—summed up it may be, as Miss Lily Montagu says, in rejecting the more firmly—rich men's meat, that is not *kosher*. Thus we see how the Jews of this stamp implicitly classify themselves, and cannot help it.

But there are not only black sheep in the Ghetto; they are to be found where circumstances far less justify their appearance. They are in high places.

Mr. Montefiore, meanwhile, in a spirit of materialistic

¹ *Good Words*, 1882, pp. 375, 515.

pessimism, lays it down that the most important Jewish symbolic observances are not susceptible of conveying at all 'the spiritual idea' of which Mr. Zangwill is so assured as the link or bond of union with Jews! Mr. Montefiore speaks oracularly, and says that baptism can be spiritualized, but circumcision cannot be spiritualized. We beg to differ from him here—to differ from him *toto coelo*: spiritualization depends upon the strength and persistency of the spiritual force behind the observance, and observance is mere minister and symbol of that force. If the force be weak and non-existent, then indeed there is no hope. The rite is empty and naught. But as to the laws of eating, which lay at the root of the Jewish sacrifice, they have received the highest consecration in the Christian sacrament or communion, as indeed circumcision itself has done—when we are told by one of the later prophets what has yet full echo in the Christian Scripture, 'to circumcise the foreskins of our hearts.' Here the former fact becomes an image, but it could have no meaning for anybody—it could not have come into existence indeed, or remained anything but a memory—but for the circumcision of the Jews which anticipated and made it possible; it is re-spiritualized even there; and cannot now be done away with either, *pace* Mr. Claude Montefiore. 'Circumcise the foreskins of your hearts' is what is now in effect said at every earnest address at Christian communion, and baptism itself is but the consecration of the child to the circumcision of the foreskin of its heart—no more and no less. The two observances in principle are not disconnected, nay, they are united, when seen from the loftier transcendental reaches or spiritual heights. Mr. Montefiore here but too closely follows the barren materialistic and unimaginative thinkers of to-day, whose one great and almost unpardonable fault is that they are continually proclaiming the separation of elements which are as closely bound together as the lungs in man or beast and the breathable atmosphere.

But what does the New Testament itself say to us on this great point?

'He is a Jew which is one inwardly: and circumcision (is)

of the heart (*περιτομή καρδίας*), in the spirit, not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God' (Rom. ii. 29).

Here we have, in its own terms, the announcement of the true conception of circumcision—the spiritual force behind the rite is *the* fact, and not the rite itself—any more than is the case with any other rite whatsoever; and the true rationale of what should be Mr. Zangwill's 'spiritual and non-traditional' is there. By proving the *spiritualisation* of circumcision, Christianity makes full return to Judaism of benefits derived from it, and Mr. Montefiore blindly denies the fact and will not see!

Mr. Morris Joseph is with us here, when he writes:

It is urged against Judaism that it is Eastern in character, and therefore out of place in Western countries. The argument, if valid, would destroy all Jewish ceremonial. It would do more: it would forbid Jewish belief. There is not one rite of Judaism which is not redolent of the East, reminiscent of some phase of Israel's romantic story. The fact, far from being a defect, is a merit. It is good that the springs of Jewish sentiment should be fed by contact with the life-giving waters of the past. But this charge of Orientalism would invalidate not only Jewish but Christian ritual. The service of the Church is Eastern from beginning to end. The Book of Common Prayer is largely borrowed from the Bible, one of the most Eastern of books. Palm-Sunday gets its name from its characteristic Oriental emblem. Easter recalls the Passover: the rite of Communion, the Paschal meal. Expel its Oriental elements from the ceremonial of the Church, and what would remain of it? And so of Jewish doctrine, whence comes the dogma of the Divine Unity but from the East? How long would it have taken the Western world to get within sight of the sublime heights of monotheism if Judaism had not familiarized it with the great idea?

This is the whole burden of Mr. Morris Joseph's chapter on the 'Blessedness of Work'—the animating idea of his whole book.

And yet, to our amazement, Mr. Montefiore is still concerned that the Jews should recognize clearly that 'it was for the benefit of the Jews and of religion, that Judaism as a definite, *separate* religion should continue.' He counted up the sacrifices needed to secure this at our late time of day;

and referred to a 'reformed Judaism' as becoming a necessity for the poor. Yet the poor—the poor of the East End—according to Miss Lily Montagu and others, are the only consistent and thorough-going observers of rite and rule, who do not want or need reform, and will punish their bellies even whilst their richer co-religionists would fain tempt them to be treated and filled with doubtful meat—meat that is not *kosher*. They are the only section of Jews that now stick to the fringes or 'four corners,' the *Arbang Kanphoth*. 'The Jewish religious consciousness,' he says, 'must be maintained in the home, by private prayer, by family worship, by religious talks and discussions and *some* measure of ceremonial.' But he thought those persons who, when they deserted Judaism, 'discontented with the services of the synagogue,' took their children to Unitarian or Theistic places of worship acted 'far more *religiously* and wisely than those who went nowhere to worship'; but he had indeed hardly got round the corner when he said that *only* 'through a particular religion with a name—*only therefore through Judaism*—could their children be at all kept for *religion*.' Then the man who, 'discontented with synagogue services,' takes his children to a Unitarian or Theistic church does *not* keep his children for 'religion' at all; and how is he better, logically, than the man who did not take them anywhere? And Mr. Montefiore was hard, very hard indeed, on those brethren of his who are guilty of '*mixed marriages*,' that is, of marrying Gentiles, because the children or grandchildren were likely to be lost to their faith. It is possible that Mr. Montefiore may not have been truly reported at every point in *The Jewish Chronicle's* *précis* of his address in Mr. and Mrs. Henry Samuel's drawing-room on the memorable 12th of January, 1902.

Perhaps no one of our present-day eminent Jews has more clearly caught this than has Mr. Joseph Jacobs, though he appears to be but half-conscious of the real drift, and to shrink back from its final practical applications. In the first place, in his *Jewish Ideals*, he faces the fact that Jews need not seek to spread these ideals among the Gentiles.

In answer to the question—‘Why not spread them among the nations?’ he says:

Character ideals and types can only be spread by living up to them, and thus prompting to admiration and imitation of them by others. Of course, if Judaism and the Jewish ideals were mere matters of faith, one could spread them by preaching. Truths or untruths of the intellect can be spread abroad by preachments; but not ideals of character.¹

That is but another way of presenting the same idea as Mr. J. H. Levy has effectively expressed:

I do not believe that our non-Jewish neighbours will prove any more than usually intolerant to Jewish customs and symbolism, provided that Jewish religion, and the men and women who profess it, are worthy of respect.

But Mr. Jacobs does not much enlighten us when he says that, on one side at all events, the ideal is abstract and theological, for he has set it down that ‘broadly speaking, that [Jewish] development consists in “the continual” *universalising* of the *national* God, Jehovah’—which must really mean, that as He becomes more and more universalized He can only inevitably be less and less national.² Then naturally arises the question, Is this ideal of Jehovah—a national God—a mere matter of faith, or is it something that connects character ideal and type, or is bound up with that? He must decide definitely one way or another. Also his notion of development must be very inconsistent. And for this simple reason: if the idea of Jehovah is a matter of faith, *that* can be spread by preaching it; if it is held in close alliance with ‘character ideal and type,’ then it cannot be—ideals of character cannot be so spread, he says. If the idea of Jehovah has no relation whatever to, and no bearing whatever on, character ideal and type, then it is a mere outward excess or excrescence—something merely superficial, non-essential, after all; and most inconsistent it must be to make it in any way radical in Jewish development, which, broadly speaking, consists in ‘the continual

¹ *Jewish Ideals*, p. 22.

² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

universalizing of the *national* God.' But if so, Jewish development is a house divided against itself, unless the belief in Jehovah can be reconciled with 'character ideal and type.'

Otherwise, assuredly, Jewish life and Jewish character are, even in their ideals, opposed to their basic *theological* ideals—for the one can be spread by preachments, and the other cannot. Mr. Jacobs would have logically to show that the one has nothing to do with the other, or else to admit that Jehovah can be universalized by influences utterly outside 'character ideals and types,' and so gain logical consistency on the one side by complete sacrifice of it on the other. Has, then, the *national* Jehovah (who is to be *universalized*) anything definite to do with Jewish character ideals and types, or has he not? If he has, then he too can be commended to others by the same process as the latter—as indeed one vast factor in the process; if he has not, then where is the unity in Jewish belief and Jewish life, and how can they be reconciled? I pause for his reply; and I fear I shall have to wait long for a clear and satisfactory one.

Mr. Jacobs is far more satisfactory when he comes to deal with personal reminiscence and autobiography.

When *Daniel Deronda* appeared (he writes), I was just at that stage which comes in the intellectual development of every Jew, I suppose, when he emerges from the Ghetto, both social and intellectual, in which he was brought up. He finds the world outside pursuing a course quite oblivious of the claims of his race and his religion. This oblivion is in itself a tacit condemnation of the claims which justified his former isolation. He is forced to consider them; and the result is, either that he re-enters the Ghetto never to emerge, or comes outside never to re-enter.¹

But when Mr. Jacobs braces himself up to write as follows, he is far nearer to the point we have here reached:

Is Judaism a mere trades-union designed to promote the benefit of its members against the competition of others who are

¹ Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals*, p. xiii.

not 'in the statement,' as the trades' phrase runs? The Jews who have lost the Messianic hope are just the Jews who are under the influence of the bond of custom which they have mostly thrown off.¹

In any case, Mr. Jacobs, when he at last reaches a real practical ground, and is not encumbered with too much serving, holds out a hand, aye, even both hands, to us and to Emma Lazarus, without quite frankly confessing it:

We must change all this. Let us now and then give away. Let us be content to be at times second best at a bargain, a competition, or conversation; or, still better, let us cease at times to bargain, compete, or polemicise at all.²

There at last ground is reached—the very bed-rock is touched there. Mr. Jacobs has in this set forth the practical reconciliation, the only practical reconciliation possible between 'universalizing the national God, Jehovah,' and the spreading of character ideals and types by living up to them. There is no other way for either Jews or Christians than to be more simple in living, more devoted to the good of others, and less inclined to rush in and snatch at everything possible for themselves. Faith can thus be spread as character ideals and types can, and in that process they are seen to become one.

Put in his own terms, Mr. Jacobs's suggestion sounds too much like a counsel of perfection; and he does not, after all, seem to see, even in the realizing of it, were that possible, any reconciliation of the belief or faith in a Jahve which should be universalized and which may be spread by preachments, and the character ideals and types which cannot be spread by preaching. Perhaps this grand distinction so far explains the wonderful practical adaptability of the Jews on one side, and their fatal lapse from it on the other.

And yet, if, as Mr. Jacobs says, the faith in Jahve, which can be promoted by preachments, cannot be reconciled with 'character ideals and types,' which cannot be so promoted, is inconsistency not inevitable? Are 'character ideals or

¹ Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals*, p. 14.

² *Ibid.*, p. 99.

types' developed apart wholly from the articles or dogmas believed or rejected, or are they not? In the distinction and its logical results, does there not lie some apparent justification of the inconsistency which Mr. Zangwill condemns? If the faith in Jahve is not anyway involved with the 'character ideals or types,' surely it is a mere adhesion and incrustation, and should be eliminated. Is the character ideal or type preserved in these Jews without conviction, or not? On the answer depends a good deal more, we think, than either of these two learned and thoughtful Jews have yet quite apprehended.

I venture to take Mr. Henriques as one type of the conforming Jew, who does not believe, and presents the most exhaustive philosophic reasons for not believing in Judaism, as well as the most practical reasons for still conforming. He, under influence of great iconoclasts, regards Judaism as slightly developed paganism; its mythology either utterly false or stolen; its greatest heroes—Abraham, Moses, and David—'inferior characters'; the idea of the Jews being 'the chosen people' a delusion and a snare. I base on articles in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*. He is a member of one Jewish synagogue, 'maybe even twa,' and he believes, he says, in the wisdom and usefulness of setting apart a day in the year as a day of introspection and review of one's actions during the year. The results of an honest review and introspection are likely to lead to amendment of conduct, both in the 'abandonment of evil ways and the formation of good resolutions.' No one doubts that; but what justification does it give for planting the sanctions for such action in implicit regard for dogmas and customs which have not only been repudiated, but shown to be baseless, if not even absurd? Many men in all times have relied on compromise, accommodation, and a perverse comprehensiveness; here it is elevated (or reduced) to a fine art. Mr. A. J. Simon again defends Jewish dogma, rightly arguing that no system of belief—not even Pantheism or Atheism itself—can exist without dogma.

I cannot help thinking here of Sir Leslie Stephen's

deliverance on Jowett, and of his perplexities at the great Master of Balliol's positions. Christianity conceived as something without miracles, without doctrine, without immortality, and without a 'personal God,' is to me no more absurd than is Judaism without circumcision, without Hebrew in its services, and practically even without Jahve, since *the* proper symbol of covenant with Him has been eliminated; and Mr. Montefiore must pardon me for frankly saying so, after not a little thought on the matter.

II.

Two movements of 1902 deserve special notice here. First, a conference of Jewish women, on May 23, convened and presided over by Mrs. N. L. Cohen, who in welcoming the delegates said:

'Ladies and gentlemen, or rather, colleagues and co-religionists, let me first most cordially welcome you, and especially I welcome with warm pleasure and appreciation the members of this Conference who have come up from all over the country, north, south, east, and west—even from Scotland, Ireland, and Wales—to join hands with us. I like to associate the thought of that welcome from the House of the Lord with the thought of our work, so much of which brings us in contact with pain and suffering, with misery and dire struggles against wellnigh hopeless odds of sickness, poverty, and misfortune, that were it not for our ever firm faith in the goodness and the inscrutable wisdom of God all courage would fail us at times.'

A movement this which may unite and strengthen within a certain limit, and only cause division and unsettlement beyond. For the Jewish women here entirely follow a *modern* sentiment; and if their union is to have any practical effect on the synagogal life, and on the reformation of services, it can but be in one direction opposed wholly to old habit and tradition—with, no doubt, other splits even because of it in the near future.

Sir S. Montagu about the same time presided over a Jewish Congregational Conference, the chief purpose of

which was to promote the interests of Jewish working men and women generally—a most praiseworthy object in every way—and yet East and West are not homogeneous; and the very fact of the meeting strongly emphasizes the distinction of working classes and non-working classes among the Jews as among the Gentiles—a thing which surely should not be.

In one word, despite Mr. Zangwill's rather uncharitable deliverance on the Christian nations as warring on each other like savages, Jewry, under all too definitely traceable influences, has followed the lead of a half-heathen Christendom, and has forgotten and cast ruthlessly aside its own best traditions, just as many so-called Christians have done. The founders of both religions—their earlier guides and exemplars, the men whose lives lift up and illuminate the records of both religions—did honour to labour not by words alone, but in their own daily practice. It is as true of the early Christians, and of the early saints, that they worked with their hands, as that the earlier monks and friars were workers, reformers, great agriculturists, road makers, bridge builders, grand introducers of improvements on all sides; and that the earlier witnesses for Judaism were workers with their own hands, witnesses for this sainthood too. Here, at all events, both religions agree—in a reverence for labour.

III.

Later events and deliberations seem quite to confirm this position. At the Zionist Congress at Basle (December 27 to 31, 1901), when Sir F. Montefiore one day presided, 'the obstacles in the way of the Zionist movement were severely condemned, mention being made of the high Jewish financial circles and the German rabbis; and it was held that the abstinence of these sections from the movement constituted one of its chief difficulties.' On a later day (December 30), Mr. Zangwill made 'a spirited attack on the Jewish Colonization Association, and moved a resolution condemning the conduct of the trustees of the Hirsch

Legacies, but the president (Dr. Herzl) refused to allow the motion to be put to the vote.'

The little pitted speck in garnered fruit—
The little rift within the lovers' lute,
That by-and-by will make the music mute.

Mr. Lucien Wolf, in his article on 'Anti-Semitism' in the new edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, speaks of the Zionist movement as 'a kind of Jewish nationalism vitiated by the same errors that [as?] distinguish its anti-Semitic analogue.'

Dr. Herzl's scheme, Mr. Zangwill declared (*Daily Mail*, July 10, 1896), 'was conceived in the midst of an anti-Semitic agitation, and bears the marks of agitation and want of balance which are the natural outcome of thinking in a panic.'

Mr. Arthur Girdlestone, who has written much and well on Zionism and its prospects, has this passage:

"Zionism!" said a prominent Jewish stockbroker in my hearing the other day, "a mere fad of the moment, an absurdity, an impudent attempt on the part of certain egregious self-advertisers to win their way into publicity."

"Zionism," remarked a great Jewish scholar to us a few hours later, "is a genuine popular movement of the kind that makes history."

"Zionism," says the man in the street, somewhat dubiously—"ah! yes, what is Zionism?"

And then follows this:

Zionism in England has, as it happens, taken the form of a revolt of the young Jews against the old Jews, and it is always galling to the party which has hitherto held the reins to find its authority disputed, and disputed successfully. The rich English Jew is, in the main, quite happy where he is; he has a taste for the luxuries of civilization, and if the Jewish state is formed, he, of a certainty, will not go there. 'What will you do if the Jews form their own state in Palestine?' was the question asked of a leading Jewish financier in London. 'I shall apply for the post of ambassador of that state to the Court of St. James's,' was the prompt answer.

The fact that the split over the Zionist scheme remains and widens is enough, and it is the more significant that its foremost opponents are men whose devotion to Judaism is undoubted. They believe in no such wholesale and sudden measure, but only in a gradual, natural, and unforced progress. The great principles involved remain the same too, in spite of Dr. Herzl's proclamations of success of patronage from German Emperor and Turkish Sultan. What Mr. Girdlestone wrote in the *London Review* in 1898 remains only too largely true to-day; and it remains true because Zionism as a great and definite measure is really artificial and not a true development.

It was well pointed out by Emma Lazarus that the Jews had lost character as well as physical energy and the feeling of solidarity, by the fact that under certain influences and necessities they had ceased to be workers, producers, and had become speculators, financiers, middlemen, pedlars, and desire nothing else. They had thus sacrificed physical development, if not more, far more than that. Now that over vast areas they are free, they must get back to their old tradition and old habit in this respect. That is what the Jew agitator seldom or never dreams of. In Biblical and Talmudic times, trades and handicrafts were universal. Every conceivable industry and kind of work was in vogue; labour was universal; learning and piety did not seek excuses from the daily task, but enforced it, and made it holy. Work, and not 'living by one's wits,' was considered holy and blessed. The greatest rabbis were humble artisans, and so provided for themselves. Hillel was a wood-cutter; Rabbi Chanina was a shoemaker; Rabbi Judah was a tailor; Rabbi Joseph was an architect; Abba Saul was a gravedigger; and Rabbi Joshua was a needlemaker. Jesus was a carpenter, and the son of a carpenter; Paul was a tent-maker; and Peter was a fisherman. In the Talmudic colleges of Sura and Pumbeditha, the scholars—farmers and mechanics—streamed into the tournament halls of the Halachah only when their work had given them vacation.

The Jews of to-day, with few if marked exceptions,

surpass even the Gentiles in their love of luxury, show, and extravagance, in their aspiration after tawdry and vulgar exhibitions and all the degrading associations of competitive social celebrations and functions. So much is this the case that I have met with more than one Jew of elevated ideal who privately confessed to me that for them 'mixed marriages'—that is, marriages with Gentile women—were made necessary because of lack of simplicity and domesticity, and great love of show and extravagance, in Jewish women of their own class. For the Jews who oppose 'mixed marriages' as ensuring the loss of later generations to Judaism, here is a line on which they are called to work and seek to reform to simplicity and non-luxury.

The social aspect thus becomes very closely allied with the moral aspect. The one hope of effecting anything to stem the tide, lies not primarily in synagogue reform, nor in advanced ideas and a rationalized, occidentalized theistic Church *à la* Montefiore, but in practical return to simplicity of life and habit, to true ideals of social regeneration and uplifting through the individual life.

This once secured, many bickerings, due more to social jealousy and competition than to aught else, would cease, and Mr. Levy would not then have the ground he has for saying, by way of severe yet gentle reproof, that the men who use the most opprobrious epithets towards their brother Jews are most often indifferentists and self-seekers, who do not care sufficiently for religion to think out its problems for themselves.¹

Mr. Morris Joseph beautifully expresses the same truth in his own way:

'Israel's poetry is an eloquent monument to his genius for prayer, and to his faith in its power. It is an exhortation too. It bids us prize our spiritual heritage. It enjoins us to hand on our fathers' trust in the efficacy, the blessedness, of worship and of work.

More things are wrought by prayer
Than this world dreams of—

¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, October 18, 1895.

so the modern poet declares; and we, who have helped the world to pray, must bear witness to the truth *in our own lives*.¹

In such a return as this on a grand old tradition and custom lies, moreover, in our idea, the secret of a proper and necessary preparation for a true Zion, if ever it is to be realized. 'Here is our America (Zion) or nowhere.' The return on such a course and habit would be one of the grandest means of silencing and, what is more, conciliating, those in the nations who are prone to encourage the feelings that go to favour outbreaks—*Judenhetsen*. These are stimulated by the tendency—a tendency that cannot be denied—of large sections of Jews to seek to live upon those among whom they dwell, and by making cunning use of other people's weaknesses and misfortunes to enrich themselves, obtain power, and then live in idleness.

ALEXANDER H. JAPP.

¹ *Judaism*, &c., p. 356.

Recent Literature.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

Biblia Hebraica. Editit Rud. Kittel, Professor Lipsiensis.
Pars i. (Lipsiae: J. C. Hinrichs. M. 4-geb. M. 5.20.)

THIS critical edition of the text of the Hebrew Bible is warmly to be welcomed. It has for some time been recognized that a critical handling of the Massoretic text as a whole must ere long be undertaken. But the task is great, complex, wellnigh impossible. From the purely literary point of view, such an attempt bristles with difficulties; but when the sacred character of the contents is borne in mind, and the almost endless diversity of the 'subjective' points of view from which revision and emendation would be approached, the wisest editors might well shrink from such an undertaking as impracticable. Short of this, however, much may be done.

In the volume before us, Professor Kittel of Leipzig, with the assistance of Professor V. Ryssel of Zürich, recently deceased, and Dr. Driver of Oxford, has edited most carefully the Massoretic text itself, and furnished an exceedingly valuable *apparatus criticus* in the notes. In a short Latin introduction he explains the principles on which he has acted. Rejecting the idea of furnishing a completely revised text, for which he rightly judges that the time has not yet come, he provides the greater part of the material necessary for such revision. The notes contain the most important various readings of the extant Hebrew MSS. and those of ancient versions, together with certain proposals for emending the traditional text. So far as the Massoretic text is concerned, Codex B has, naturally enough, been followed in the main. Into the details of the pointing—the use of Shewa, Methegh, and the like—we need not follow the editor's description of his principles; suffice it to say that by the use of Ben Chajjim's first (Bomberg) edition and Ginsburg's critical edition, the greatest care has been taken with the minutiae of Hebrew punctuation. The value of the work of Baer-Delitzsch

and of Ginsburg is fully recognized ; Kittel has been able to avail himself of their labours, and advance beyond them.

The critical material is judiciously selected. All the various readings are, of course, not included ; the editor has used his own judgement in selecting the most important. But we have presented to us within a small compass, and in a form easy of reference, all important alternative readings from Hebrew MSS., the numbers being given from De Rossi. The Kethib, both according to Babylonian and Palestinian tradition, is duly specified. And, what is most important, a full collation of the chief divergent readings of all the ancient versions is provided. These include the LXX, its chief MSS. being separately indicated ; the Targum in its different editions down to Walton's Polyglot ; and the Old Latin and Syriac versions, the chief codices of each being only noted. The work of the chief critical editors of the Hebrew Bible—Baer, Ginsburg, Kennicott, Michaelis, and others—has been utilized, any important variant in each being indicated by the signs Var^B, Var^{Kenn}, &c. The proposals for emendation are moderate in number and conservative in character. They are usually introduced by a modest *fortasse*, and are for the most part suggested by the context and the well-known errors and infirmities of scribes. Comparatively slight attempts are made to remove obscurities by means of conjecture—a self-restraint on the part of the editors for which in these days we may be thankful. In Gen. xlix. 10, for example, all the material is given which extant authorities furnish for a determination of the well-known *crux*, 'till Shiloh come,' and there the matter is left. It is no small gain, however, to have such information concisely given within the compass of two carefully packed lines in a critical note.

As to the books included in the first volume, the editor is responsible for Genesis, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings ; Professor V. Ryssel and the editor together for Exodus and Numbers ; whilst Professor Driver has undertaken Deuteronomy and Joshua. The names of these scholars are sufficient security, not only for the ability and accuracy of the work done, but for the moderation and soundness of the critical judgement exercised. The more difficult portion of the Old Testament remains yet to be dealt with, and we shall watch with interest the treatment accorded to such books as Job and Jeremiah. Meanwhile all Hebrew students will be thankful for this instalment of a most important work—long needed, now welcomed both for its own sake and as a step towards further enterprise, for which it will assuredly prepare the way.

The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers. By a Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology. (Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d.)

The work which is begun—and, it may be hoped, only begun—in this volume is one that has long called for attention. The Oxford Society of Historical Theology has rightly judged that a collection of the chief passages in the Early Fathers which indicate knowledge of the books of the New Testament would be of service to students. The whole subject of patristic quotations needs closer and more accurate investigation, and the best way of beginning it is to take a section at a time. This the Committee appointed by the Society have done, issuing a volume which deals only with the Apostolic Fathers. It is to be hoped, however, that succeeding volumes will deal with the even more important period of the second century. The plan adopted is to classify, in the case of each patristic writer, the passages in his extant works which appear more or less directly to imply knowledge of any New Testament Scriptures. Four classes, marked *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D*, are recognized: the first including books about which there can be no reasonable doubt; the last, books in which the reference is possible, but quite uncertain; the two intermediate classes representing intermediate stages of probability. Small letters, *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*, are corresponding symbols applying to the passages in detail which are supposed to contain quotations or allusions.

The several Fathers included were allotted to separate members of the Committee, as follows:—Barnabas has been undertaken by Professor Vernon Bartlet; Didaché, by Professor Kirsop Lake; 1 Clement, by Mr. A. J. Carlyle; Ignatius, by Rev. W. R. Inge; Polycarp, by Mr. P. V. Benecke; Hermas, by Principal Drummond; whilst 2 Clement was divided between three members. The arrangement of the matter is clear and complete, except that some confusion is not unlikely to arise in connexion with the letters and subdivisions, one whole section in each case being described as 'unclassified.' But to take an example of the method employed. In the compass of twenty pages, Professor Bartlet discusses about forty passages in the Epistle of Barnabas, in which more or less direct allusion to New Testament writings has been alleged. The Greek texts of the supposed quotation and of the original are printed side by side; an Introduction discusses the standard of accuracy of the writer, his formulae of citation, &c., and gives briefly the general result of the inquiry. A short comment puts the reader in a position to judge

for himself as to the extent to which Barnabas was acquainted with and availed himself of the New Testament book in question; and one of the four letters mentioned indicates the judgement of the Committee as to the probability that a New Testament book is quoted. In the case of Barnabas, the letter *A* does not once occur, and most of the passages are to be found either under *D*, or are 'unclassified.' Professor Bartlet points out *a priori* that the habit of Barnabas generally would prepare us to expect that if he alludes to any New Testament writings, 'it will be in a free and glossing way,' which is exactly what we do find in nearly all the passages he adduces.

Professor Kirsop Lake, who deals with the Didaché, leaves many of the questions which arise undecided. This uncertainty arises partly from the composite character of the document, which he divides thus—The Two Ways, i.-vi.; the ecclesiastical section, vii.-xv.; the eschatological section, xvi.; and the interpretation in the 'Two Ways,' i. 3-ii. 1. The conclusion drawn on the whole is that while use of the Synoptic tradition in the Didaché generally is highly probable, the verdict in relation to individual Gospels must remain doubtful. It will be seen that the treatment of each of the patristic documents handled in this volume must be different, if justice is to be done in the several cases. Ignatius, Clement, Polycarp, Hermas—one has only to mention these names for it to be seen how different were the conditions of the several writers and the character of their compositions. Hence the probabilities of quotation must be determined by various canons, according to the idiosyncrasy of each. Ignatius, says Mr. Inge, 'always quotes from memory; he is inexact, even as compared with his contemporaries; and he appears sometimes to have a vague recollection of a phrase when he is not thinking of, or wishing to remind his readers of, the original context.'

It is impossible for us here to enter into minute details. But the importance of the whole subject in its bearing upon the canon and the genuineness of the New Testament Scriptures is obvious. And no better aid for a careful examination into such arguments as are employed, for example, in Westcott's *Canon of the New Testament*, could be found than such a volume as this, especially if the student will use it not as a crutch, but as a staff, and learn by its aid to walk alone. Tables and indexes are appended, and make the book useful for reference. From one of these we learn how few comparatively are the passages in which literary reference to New Testament documents on the part of the Apostolic Fathers is

certain. But 1 Corinthians was certainly known to and used by 1 Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Hermas; Romans, by Barnabas and 1 Clement; and 1 Peter, by Polycarp. Testimony to the Gospels is naturally more scanty, and the numerous probable references to the Synoptic tradition do not lend themselves to accurate classification.

We close a brief and inadequate notice of a valuable book by commending it very heartily to all careful students of the New Testament. It should prove of great use in theological colleges.

The Bible: Its Origin and Nature. By Marcus Dods, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 5s.)

The lectures contained in this volume were delivered in May, 1904, at Lake Forest College, Illinois, on what is known as the Bross Foundation. They are seven in number, and deal with the Canon of Scripture, Revelation, Inspiration, Infallibility, and kindred subjects. The position taken by Dr. Marcus Dods in relation to these topics is familiar, and in this volume he advances no new doctrine and hardly any fresh arguments. By that it is not meant to imply that the book is useless—far from it. In these days of free discussion concerning the authority of Scripture, it is well to have expressed in brief compass the opinion of one who has paid so much attention to the subject and influenced so many minds as the Edinburgh Professor. He will not carry all his readers with him. But all must recognize the moderate, candid, reasonable tone in which a difficult subject is discussed, and many will be especially thankful that whether Dr. Dods be right or wrong, he is for the most part constructive in his tendencies, putting forth positive teaching of his own, for which sound reasons are given, not mere criticisms of views which he cannot accept.

In contrasting the Bible with other sacred books, and inquiring why the Bible may fairly claim a normative position as *the* Word of God, he answers: 'Because the books which form our Bible are all in direct connexion with God's historical revelation which culminated in Christ.' The unifying element in Scripture is God's redeeming purpose culminating in the gift of Christ; the centre and bond of all the books thus collected is Christ Himself. In another place he points out that 'our faith in Christ does not hang upon our faith in Scripture, but our faith in Scripture hangs upon our faith in Christ.' This Christo-centric position is now much more generally accepted than it was a generation ago, and unquestionably

it has greatly helped in giving to the evangelical faith a position of stable equilibrium.

On the subject of inspiration, Dr. Marcus Dods, as may be expected, rejects the doctrine of 'verbal' inspiration. But he does so soberly and moderately, with due reason assigned and without the note of scorn with which many assail a doctrine they only partially understand. We are disappointed, however, to find that the author of these able lectures not only attempts no definition of inspiration, but has little of a positive kind to say about it, except that (1) it signifies the presence of the Divine Spirit, and that (2) it stands in vital relation to character. Professor Wood's definition, which Dr. Dods quotes with approval, illustrates the vagueness and hesitation now unfortunately too common. He suggests that inspiration is an influence of God so exercised on all who took part in producing the Bible, 'that they made a body of literature unique in religious value, and, so far as we now see, final in religious teaching.' 'So far as we now see' is good! It is eminently characteristic of our age not to commit itself in allegiance even to Christ so far as to shut out the possibility of 'looking for another.'

As regards the inerrancy of Scripture, Dr. Dods says that there are three methods of dealing with alleged errors and discrepancies. One is to deny their existence. Another admits the errors, and infers that the Bible is untrustworthy. The third, which he adopts, is 'to admit the errors while at the same time maintaining and exhibiting the infallibility of the Bible notwithstanding.' This last position is explained to mean that 'its infallibility must be determined by its purpose,' which is to exhibit Christ. Minor errors—and Dr. Dods points out that the proved errors in history and in Scripture are comparatively few and slight—do not interfere with the value of Scripture for the great purpose for which it has been given and preserved to men.

Other lectures in the volume deal with the trustworthiness of the Gospels, and the miraculous element they contain. We cannot profess to be satisfied with the treatment of miracles. These are not days in which teachers who believe in the supernatural should minimize its significance, and we confess we should have been glad to see a few plain outspoken sentences in the last lecture which are not to be found there. There is no doubt, however, that the moderate position taken by Dr. Marcus Dods will help many who find it difficult to reconcile the teaching of the Gospels with the conclusions of modern science as to the reign of law. Happily signs are not wanting that before many years have passed,

the conflict which has so long prevailed between the 'natural' and 'supernatural' elements in human life will be lost in a deeper and more abiding harmony, such as will render superfluous all attempts at artificial reconciliation.

On Theological, Biblical, and other Subjects. By Robert Flint, D.D. (Blackwood. 6s.)

These chips from Professor Flint's workshop do not by their shape betray the master's hand as much as is sometimes the case. They are miscellaneous in character, and several of them deal with subjects in which the learned author is hardly seen at his best. Five of the chapters contain addresses to students of divinity, and are mainly practical in their character. Four or five more—on The Book of Amos, The Theology of St. James and St. Peter, and Christ our King—were read to members of women's associations. Two deal with Scottish ecclesiastical controversies, and as the lectures were delivered more than twenty years ago, the polemics against the Free Churches of Scotland need hardly have been resuscitated. The three most important chapters are those on the Idea of God—in ancient Egypt, among the Chinese, and in the Bible.

It must not be understood from what has been said that the papers which are here republished are so slight or ephemeral in character as not to deserve preservation. Professor Flint could not write on such topics without saying many things well worth pondering. In the address on 'Tendencies of the Age with reference to Church and Clergy,' are to be found remarks as weighty as they are timely and practical. All the lectures and essays are marked by the tone of sobriety and reserve which is characteristic of the trained scholar. Those who read Professor Flint will find enough in his pages to make them think. Lecturers who seek to make their readers or hearers laugh, or stare, or exclaim, may be found elsewhere in abundance. Those who desire an able, thoughtful, and thought-provoking teacher in matters biblical and theological will do well to choose and follow such a guide as the Emeritus Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea.

By William Rainey Harper, Professor of Semitic Languages and Literature in the University of Chicago.
(T. & T. Clark. 12s.)

The general editors of 'The International Critical Commentary' have entrusted *The Minor Prophets* to a well-known and accom-

plished American scholar. In the volume just issued Professor Harper deals with the 'first two of the immortal twelve,' and promises the second and third volumes within two years. This handsome instalment of what will prove a veritable *magnum opus* shows how comprehensive are the lines on which the whole work is planned, and how exceptionally well equipped the author is for his laborious task. The amount of material collected within these six hundred pages is enormous; lengthy critical notes in small print are very numerous. The editors of the series lay stress on the importance of providing the history of the interpretation; this general instruction might well have proved a deterrent to one less familiar with the extensive literature connected with the history of Israel between 900 B.C. and 300 B.C., but Professor Harper knows the sources well, and he has succeeded in his endeavour 'to note all opinions worthy of consideration.' Little wonder that notwithstanding his remarkable powers of condensation, he is compelled to remind his readers that often 'space would not permit a fuller discussion.'

Amos and Hosea occupy an important place in 'prophetism proper,' which, in modern parlance, signifies 'written prophecy.' But many critics assume that with Amos 'all Hebrew thought really began'; this view we are glad to find Professor Harper is unable to accept. His own critical position is advanced; he finds legendary elements in the narratives in Kings; but after making full allowance for these elements, he holds that Elijah is 'a true historical character of a remarkable type.' Many difficult problems are raised in the Introduction, which discusses at length 'the pre-prophetic movement' and its relation to Mosaism and to real prophecy. With great skill and fairness the questions at issue are stated, but some of Professor Harper's solutions it is impossible to regard as final. On what seem to us, from his own point of view, insufficient grounds, he denies the ascription to Moses of the Decalogues (Exod. xx. and Exod. xxxiv.). Arguing from the same premisses, namely, that 'the prophets did not first enunciate, but inherited the doctrine that true religion utters itself in morality,' Professor Paterson infers that it is 'not only possible but probable' that Moses as the founder or reformer of a religion should have embodied its leading principles in terse sentences.

This learned commentary appeals to bona-fide students, and by preference to good Hebraists. To read it to profit it is essential to be able to distinguish between the legitimate findings of the Higher Criticism and its more or less plausible conjectures, and

it is desirable to know how to weigh arguments for and against emendations of the Massoretic text. But it would be extremely unfair to Professor Harper to close even a brief notice of a commentary which contains work of the highest order without recognizing the value of his notes on difficult passages and the beauty of his descriptions of the personal life, the message, and the ministry of these two prophets.

As a specimen of a luminous note, the following on Hos. v. 15-vi. 3, may be quoted: 'Israel feigns repentance. In a wonderfully conceived pair of soliloquies, the poet represents Yahweh as waiting for Israel to come back, and Israel as, in fact, coming back, but with a conception of Yahweh so false, and an idea of repentance so inadequate as to make the whole action a farce.' As an example of the insight which is the reward of historic study, a brief extract from Professor Harper's exposition of the message of Amos must suffice: 'The conception of Yahweh which Amos entertains is that of a God of justice. This thought Elijah (1 Kings xxi. 18 ff.) had already expressed, but Amos goes further, and makes the idea the very centre of his conception of God. He is all the better able to reach this high point, because he has also conceived of Yahweh as standing in close relation to all nations. Yahweh's power being universal, it is necessarily impartial and consequently ethical. . . . He cannot, however, have one standard for the nations, and a lower standard for Israel. 'If, for any reason, Israel has enjoyed special privileges, the standard by which she shall be judged is to be placed all the higher.'

The Pre-exilic Prophets. By the Rev. W. Fairweather, M.A. (J. M. Dent & Co. 9d. net.)

An admirable little handbook, giving concise information concerning the conditions out of which pre-exilic prophecy arose, and describing the salient characteristics of the prophets themselves, from Amos to Jeremiah, together with interesting, brightly written sketches of their distinctive messages. We can conceive of nothing more attractive and convenient for young students of the Old Testament.

Modern Criticism and the Book of Genesis. By Henry A. Redpath, D.Litt., M.A. (S.P.C.K. 1s. 6d.)

This little book is a dignified and, for the most part, well-reasoned plea for a more conservative view of *Genesis* than that which is held by Dr. Driver in his recently published commentary. In a spirit altogether admirable and deserving of general imitation, Dr. Redpath recognizes Dr. Driver's 'reverential handling' of the

book. His own view is critical, and admits of 'later additions' and of the use of 'previous sources'; but it is urged that there is no sufficient reason for assigning to the book such a late date as the ninth century B.C. Much that Dr. Redpath says in regard to the early narratives is worthy of consideration; his remarks on 'tribes represented as individuals' and on 'Cosmogony' show that on many questions suspense of judgement is still a wise attitude. On the other hand, it is not likely that the problem of the use of the divine names will be solved by his suggestion that Jehovah is an intensified form of Jah. (This theory involves the assumption that the original form of the sacred tetragrammaton was יהוה.) Nor is any help contributed to the understanding of the Fall narrative by the statement: 'The dog speaks to us when he draws our attention to something which he wants us to see. . . . And this may be what is meant, though expressed in more direct and poetical language than we of these latter days are used to, by the speaking of the serpent.'

Outlines of the Life of Christ. By W. Sanday, D.D.
(T. & T. Clark. 5s. net.)

When the article entitled 'Jesus Christ' which Dr. Sanday contributed to Hastings's *Bible Dictionary* first appeared, it was seen to possess a value beyond ordinary productions of the kind. The publishers have now recognized this by issuing it as a separate volume, which deserves and will receive a hearty welcome. It contains two hundred and fifty pages of carefully prepared material on one of the most important of all subjects, and now that Dr. Sanday's work can be procured separately for a small sum, it will circulate much more widely and prove more generally useful than in its original form. For theological students and higher Bible classes it would furnish an admirable textbook. The 'outlines' here presented will bear careful filling in, and Dr. Sanday tells us in his Preface that a larger work on the same subject is in preparation. But it is not to appear for some years, and meanwhile the smaller volume will show New Testament students how to 'speak with the enemy in the gate' without violence, or narrowness, or prejudice, yet firmly and clearly, in defence of the faith once delivered to the saints.

The merits of Dr. Sanday's article are now so generally known that we need not enter into detail in describing this volume. For the matter is little, if at all, changed from the form in which it appeared in 1899. A map, however, is added, mainly on the basis

of that published by Dr. Sanday in his *Sites of the Gospels*, with some improvements suggested by Buhl's and Ramsay's geographical articles in the extra volume of the *Bible Dictionary*. We notice, however, that Dr. Sanday has changed his opinion with regard to the site of Capernaum, returning to the view which we learned to consider orthodox from Dr. Thomson in *The Land and the Book* more than thirty years ago.

The Life of Christ: A Continuous Narrative, in the Words of the Authorized Version, of the Four Gospels, with Introduction and Notes. By Joseph John Scott, M.A., Canon of Manchester. (London: Murray. 7s. 6d.)

Canon Scott's work is an attempt to help those students and teachers who are becoming afraid of the inroads made by modern criticism on the Bible. It takes the shape of a *Life of Christ*, made up from the best account of each incident given in any of the four Gospels, with references to the parallel passages and concise explanatory notes. The Introduction summarizes the conclusions as to date and authorship of the Gospels which are accepted by the best English students. Detached notes discuss special points in a very helpful way. Those on the events of the Crucifixion and the Seven Words from the Cross are specially valuable. The book is likely to serve its purpose well, and strengthen the conviction that the Gospel narrative is transparently truthful.

The Walk, Conversation, and Character of Jesus Christ our Lord. By Alexander Whyte, D.D. (Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. 6s.)

All who know Dr. Whyte's writings—happily a large and increasing company—will know wherein lies the charm of this new volume. To others we cannot convey the idea by any description. All the chapters in this book had probably been preached as sermons, but there is nothing stiff, dry, or sermonic about them. They address an audience, they grapple with the conscience, they guide the seeker, comfort the sorrowful, and unfold truth which this generation particularly needs to know—in this sense these discourses on the life of Christ are sermons of rare excellence. But they have no formal divisions, they are couched in no pulpit dialect, and they have that delightful way of beginning in the middle and leaving off before the conclusion, which most sermons lack.

These thirty-five chapters are full of marrow. They contain meat of the best, in small compass, most savoury, and easily

digested. Every one of them contains the pith of the gospel without announcing the fact. The pages glisten with homely apophthegms such as Spurgeon delighted in, and are warm with glowing appeals such as Whitefield used to pour forth. There is somewhat more of Calvinistic phrase than we care for. We are not sure that during that silent period of our Lord's life, from twelve to thirty years of age, He was engaged in establishing 'suretyship righteousness,' that 'every thought of His and every word of His and every deed of His, it all entered into that justifying righteousness which He was working out, not for Himself but for us.' Dr. Whyte loves to have a Bible foundation for his teaching, and we do not know where he would find a satisfactory basis for the above. He certainly cannot in the sentence which follows: 'Our Lord hath woven two coats, as it were; one for Himself, and one to spare.' But what matter these trifles? Dr. Whyte's sermons are among the most stimulating, searching, and strengthening preached in this generation; they are full of Christ, and they wield with Pauline trenchancy the sword that smites only that it may heal. Young preachers might do worse than sell many volumes of sermons from their shelves to buy this one!

Jesus Saith. By J. Warschauer. (H. R. Allenson. 2s. 6d.)

Widespread interest has been aroused by the discovery of the Oxyrhynchus papyri, which contain certain sayings of our Lord. Several of these supplement in a remarkable degree the teaching of our Lord in the four Gospels, while others, like the saying on the place of wonder in the quest of the kingdom, strike a new note. The author of this book has written a series of devotional studies based on these newly found texts. The discourses are helpful and stimulating, and the reader will appreciate the skill with which the writer has brought out the applications of the *Logia* to modern life.

The Christian Doctrine of the Lord's Supper. By Rev. R. M. Adamson, M.A. (T. & T. Clark. 4s. 6d. net.)

We give a hearty welcome to this unpretending but thoughtful and scholarly volume. Mr. Adamson has given his strength to the history of the doctrine of the Eucharist, therein acting wisely, as we think. For whilst controversial treatises on the subject abound,—alas that in such a matter controversy should be the one element that is never lacking!—a clear, able, dispassionate history, gathered into small compass, was not so easy to find. Mr. Adamson sketches lightly what he calls 'Old Testament beginnings' or foreshadowings of the Eucharist, and traces out carefully all references

to the Supper in the New Testament. In the interpretation of John vi. he finds a more direct sacramental bearing of the Saviour's words than is perhaps tenable. We, at least, should agree with Bishop Westcott and Dr. Sanday that our Lord's reference in that discourse was rather to the spiritual truths which the Eucharist symbolizes than to the symbol itself. The doctrine of the Early Fathers is expounded briefly but well, and the rise and growth of the sacrificial idea carefully traced out. Here is the crucial point in the history of the doctrine, and we are glad to see that Mr. Adamson appreciates Cyprian's part in the work, and understands how in his time a bias was given to Eucharistic doctrine in the Church 'catholic' from which it has never since recovered. Several chapters are given to the Reformation—not one too many. Calvin's valuable service to sound doctrine, and Hooker's Receptionist views, are set forth clearly and weightily, and the historian travels steadily forwards till he brings us, in chap. xi., to a 'constructive restatement of the doctrine,' such as he thinks it desirable to present as his own contribution to the subject.

The proper gift of the sacrament Mr. Adamson considers to be 'the manifold entity of the God-man as He now exists.' There is no doctrine of the Person and work of Christ, he says, that is not comprised in a full view of the Supper. The Incarnation, the Atoning Death, the Resurrection of Christ—all are there. And this whole Person of Christ, in all His aspects and offices, is the 'unspeakable gift' which the worthy communicant receives in the sacramental meal. Here is a 'Real Presence' of Christ indeed; but He is present in the whole sacrament, not in the elements—a distinction of the utmost importance.

Such, in brief, is Mr. Adamson's view, expounded with equal modesty and firmness, with all charity towards those who differ from him, but without hesitation as to the rejection of views which make for superstition. The succeeding chapters on the Liturgies, on the Sacrament in Literature, and the Practical Aspects of the Doctrine, are well written and interesting. We heartily commend the book to our readers as full of instruction and spiritual profit.

Ministers of the Word and Sacraments. Lectures on Pastoral Theology delivered in King's College, London, Lent Term, 1904, by the Rev. S. M. Taylor, M.A., Archdeacon of Southwark. (Longmans, Green, & Co. 4s. 6d. net.)

Of all the annual volumes of lectures in pastoral theology it would be hard to find one more wholesome and practical than this.

We may as well say at once that it is written from the High Church standpoint, and to some extent in the High Church dialect; and, having said that, we hasten to add that we do not value it the less highly on that account. Every Church bewrays itself by its speech as unconsciously and as inevitably as Peter did by his. The unity that underlies all superficial variations is in reality so deep and so true that to find fault with modes of expression is a most idle and injurious form of logomachy. Any young minister with the faintest conception of the essential unity of Christendom can translate for his own use the advice here given to Anglican curates without any hesitation whatever. And, with very few and unimportant exceptions, he will find the advice thoroughly sound and useful. Some of the earlier lectures deal with the minister's relation to children. As in most recent manuals of pastoral theology, some flagrant defects of the Sunday-school system are here resolutely faced. Before young ministers are old, Sunday schools will have to be delivered from antiquated ideals and aims appropriate to the end of the eighteenth century but unsuited to the beginning of the twentieth. Archdeacon Taylor apparently desires to see children's Sunday schools give place slowly to children's Sunday services in the school-room or in the church. If we could be quite confident that the nation will not, in impatience of religious dissensions, end by abolishing the Bible from the day schools outright, we might perhaps come to regard his policy as desirable. At all events, the book is well worth getting for the sake of one chapter alone, the chapter on 'Teaching the Children.' There follow chapters on Guilds, on Preaching, on the Conduct of Worship (and especially of the supreme act of worship), on Pastoral Visitation, and on the Minister's Relation to Church Workers. It is full of the terse, shrewd advice which comes from actual experience. There is a note of practicability pervading the whole book which shows the writer to be not one who sits in his study elaborating sublime and impossible ideals, but one who has gone through the whole matter himself in the parish. It is the insight which comes with contact and in no other way. Take this observation as a sample. It has to do with pastoral visitation. 'When people say that "no parson has been nigh them for twelve years come next Michaelmas," you need not commiserate too much. Memories are frail. They will perhaps be saying the same thing to your successor in a year or two's time.' And, for originality that is almost daring, take Dr. Taylor's defence of remaining seated during the anthem, and his reasons for it. The whole book is intensely interesting and of the utmost value.

The Holy Communion : Its Institution, Purpose, and Privilege.

By A. E. Barnes-Lawrence, M.A. (Bemrose & Sons.
1s. net.)

This little book is dedicated 'to the leaders and members of the Girls' Camps,' by an Hon. Chaplain. We hope it may have a large circulation, for it will help every young communicant to enter more heartily into the spirit and meaning of the Lord's Supper. Mr. Barnes-Lawrence is a well-known leader at the Keswick Convention, and Evangelical Churchmen will find this a book after their own hearts.

The Story of the Upper Room. By John Telford, B.A.
(Charles H. Kelly. 2s. 6d.)

For many years Mr. Telford has found in the study of our Lord's farewell to His disciples in the Upper Room 'a source of unending delight and wonder.' These expositions, at once thoughtful and devout, yield ample evidence that it has often been his joy to linger long within this holy of holies, and to gaze upon its glories in the contemplative mood which, by prompting the heart to worship, prepares the mind to understand the teaching. Important questions of criticism confront the student of this section of the Gospels; the author's brief allusions to them show that he is aware of their existence, but they are not allowed to obtrude upon the reader's attention. On some points, as, e.g., the relation of the Lord's Supper to the Jewish Passover, a more satisfactory explanation of the variations in the narratives might, we think, have been suggested, but the relative value of competing theories on this subject is of slight significance as compared with the unfolding of the abiding truth revealed on that memorable night, as well by the deeds as in the words of Jesus.

Mr. Telford has succeeded in his aim, which was 'to weave into one connected narrative the record of the four evangelists, and to set the great chapters of St. John in their historic framework'; his attitude throughout is that of the disciple who listens with opened ear to the Master's words, that he may help his fellow-disciples 'more fully to read the Master's heart.' Mr. Telford's style is simple and forceful, and it has these qualities because he has clear insight into truth and a practical purpose in giving expression to it. He has read what the great writers have said on the sublimest themes, and makes felicitous use of their sayings; but he has also thought for himself, and in many of these studies on very familiar passages he strikes a distinctive note. For example, on John xiv. 1

he says: 'Men must choose between hearts sustained by faith and hearts tormented by trouble'; and on our Lord's saying, 'Believe also in Me,' he adds this suggestive comment: 'This is one of His boldest words. . . . He links Himself with the Father as the object of His disciples' trust. . . . Their faith was to move forward to its rest, a rest on Him (*eis eum*) whom they had trusted during the familiar intercourse of those years when they had been His companions and disciples.'

The Transfiguration of Jesus. By W. E. Beet, M.A. (C. H. Kelly. 2s. 6d.)

If, as Mr. Beet claims, this is the first treatment of the Transfiguration in a separate monograph, the reason is doubtless the scantiness of the data for forming an adequate judgement on an event which is so mysterious in many of its aspects. The author, however, nothing daunted, has rushed in where angels fear to tread, and has produced a carefully wrought study of the whole subject. The time and the place, the phenomena and the meaning of the Transfiguration are discussed in a truly scientific spirit, and the difficulties are courageously faced. He strongly dissents from the views of Schmiedel (whose name, by-the-by, is twice incorrectly spelt in the text, pp. vi, 19) with regard to the historicity of the event, and will have nought of the theory that resolves the whole incident into a subjective experience. In view of the modern interest in the phenomena of consciousness perhaps more space might have been given to the purely psychological elements of the record, especially as the footnote on p. 49 shows a considerable grasp of mental conditions. Regarded, however, as a devotional treatise, containing many thoughts that are helpful and expressed in glowing language on the spiritual teaching of our Lord's Transfiguration, this little book should win many appreciative readers. Here and there the style, while fluent and correct, misses the restraint and simplicity of perfect art; but the last chapter, which considers the event in its bearing on the transfiguration of man, contains several graphic and impressive passages.

Immortality, and other Sermons. By the Rev. A. W. Momerie, LL.D. (H. R. Allenson. 3s. 6d.)

This is a fourth edition, and there is so much food for thought in the sermons that we do not wonder at such a large circulation. Dr. Momerie claimed to be a Broad Churchman. He was certainly a bold thinker, and though we do not admire his style and cannot

accept many of his conclusions, we can honour his fearless sincerity and his untiring search for truth.

Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament. By John Wesley, M.A. (Charles H. Kelly. 2s. 6d. net.)

To get Wesley's *Notes* on India paper is a boon. Here is a volume of 1054 pages which can easily be slipped into a coat pocket. The type is clear, the paper opaque. We have long wanted such an edition, and its modest price puts it within the reach of every local preacher and class-leader. They will feel new gratitude to Wesley as they study this edition and see what helps he provided for his preachers when commentaries were rare and high priced. The edition bound in lamb-skin makes an excellent little present, and it may fairly be expected that the issue of this standard work in such a convenient form will greatly extend the circulation of Wesley's *Notes* both within and without the borders of Methodism.

Men of the New Testament. 'Matthew to Timothy.' By Various Authors. (James Robinson. 3s. 6d. net.)

Great things about God and character and destiny are revealed in the lives of the men of the Bible, and therefore this volume of studies in the characters of the men of the New Testament ought to lay bare noble parts of God's thought for human life. And actually that is what it does, for everywhere in these pages there is teaching about God and His ways, as well as about man and his. As is to be expected, the study of such varieties of character by men of such differing minds, yields a volume of great diversity, but we always detect sincerity, simplicity, and good sense. In some cases the portrait is drawn with a sure hand, and the real spirit of the man is revealed, as in the beautiful sermon by Mr. Carnegie Simpson on Judas Iscariot, and the careful study of St. Peter by Principal Adeney; in other cases, of necessity, the outline is more shadowy, and the impression less definite. But the whole book witnesses to the power which Jesus has to enhance the very greatest and to transfigure the very lowliest. All the sermons are by representative Free Church leaders, and manifest powers of sympathetic appreciation and a strong grasp of the Christian realities, and are good types of the preaching which is heard in their churches from week to week. Many a Christian home will be enriched by the reading of this book, and preachers may turn to it with great advantage, both for its careful expositions, and as studies of method in interpreting character and life.

Some Views of Modern Theology. By Edward W. Lewis, M.A., B.D. (H. R. Allenson. 3s. 6d.)

The editor of the *Clarion*, in one of his attacks upon the Christian religion, suggested a series of questions which should be put to ministers, and to which they should be asked to reply. The very questions revealed an inaccurate thinker, as, for instance, when he inquires, 'Do you believe that Christ was a God?' and 'Do you believe in the immaculate conception?' and confounds a Romish dogma with the Christian doctrine of the Virgin birth of our Lord. This volume is composed of a series of sermons in which the author gives his answer specifically to every one of these questions, and he does it in a fair, frank, and competent fashion. Of the ability of the treatment of the subjects there is no doubt; the writer has wide knowledge, sees the real significance of the questions, understands the Christian position, and expounds it with certainty, clearness, and courage. We do not always find ourselves in agreement with Mr. Lewis, but in the main he has shown that those who hold to the Christian faith are not so defenceless as their challenger supposed, but that minds of real force still intelligently find in the teaching of Jesus the only adequate and satisfying interpretation of life in its wholeness and need. The volume is an answer to the questions which is both logical and illuminating, and will be profoundly helpful to all who have been embarrassed by recent discussions.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL.

Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of J. H. Shorthouse.
 Edited by his Wife. (Macmillan & Co. 1905.)

MR. SHORTHOUSE will, it is safe to say, be remembered as the author of *John Inglesant*. Into that book he put himself and the substance of the message he had to deliver to his generation. His other writings, whilst exhibiting the same delicate spiritual insight and suggestiveness which mark his chief work, were not substantial or distinctive enough to have given him an assured place in literature. But the man who could write *John Inglesant* was worth knowing, and slighter stories such as *Sir Percival*, *Little Schoolmaster Mark*, and *Blanche, Lady Falaise*, acquire a large part of their interest from their relation to the more important novel and the personality of the author as reflected in it.

The same may be said of the two very interesting memorial volumes now published, edited by Mrs. Shorthouse. The former of the two contains a brief memoir of her husband, together with a considerable number of his letters. The second contains a collection of miscellaneous articles, contributed to the Friends' Essay Society, of which he was a member, or to magazines. Life, letters, and essays are undeniably interesting, but none of them would have attracted attention by themselves; as it is, they will be valued by many outside the circle of Mr. Shorthouse's personal friends. The indescribable charm of atmosphere which surrounds *John Inglesant* pervades these pages also, and they enable the reader to understand how such a book came to be written, utterly unlike as it was to the current literary productions of the period which gave it birth.

It was not inspired by the surroundings of the writer. The most remarkable feature of the life of Mr. Shorthouse was that he thought and felt and wrote as he did whilst steadily pursuing the duties of a Birmingham manufacturer. A successful man of business, attending to his work regularly till within a year or two of his death; a churchwarden who interested himself in parochial matters and ecclesiastical life generally; no recluse, but one who enjoyed and shone in society—Mr. Shorthouse kept sacred the sanctuary of his imagination and never lost his delicate and discriminating

spiritual insight into the deeper significance of life. His parents belonged to the Society of Friends, and in his early years he was surrounded by the pure and elevating influences of that Society—in itself a spiritual education. Before he was thirty, however, he became a member of the Church of England, and for the rest of his life he was intelligently and devotedly attached to that communion. 'I am a strong Sacramentalist,' he said of himself; and a friend says of him, 'Never have I known a more deeply reverent and unquestioning realization of what sacramental grace is to the spirit of man.' It is interesting to note, both in his personal character and in his books, how the intensely spiritual views of life characteristic of the Quakers, and the aesthetic and ritualistic cults characteristic of a type of Anglicanism, were blended easily and naturally together.

Mr. Shorthouse's life was singularly uneventful. It was passed in a refined home at Edgbaston, in the midst of a circle of congenial friends, and varied only by pleasant but very 'ordinary' holiday excursions, such as his delicate health frequently required. Almost the only incidents—if even these can be called such—occur during occasional visits to London, when the author of *John Ingle-sant* was lionized in a pleasant fashion which could not offend even his extreme modesty. He made many friends. His chief correspondents—so far, at least, as the published letters are concerned—were Dr. Talbot, now Bishop of Southwark, Bishop Boyd Carpenter, Lady Welby, Canon Ainger, Mr. Gosse, and Messrs. Alexander and George Macmillan. Mr. Shorthouse was not a born letter-writer, and, to be quite frank, his published letters contain a good deal of commonplace. But in some of them are to be found interesting and instructive references to his published works, and others are marked by a vein of devout and intelligent insight into nature and poetry and human life which was very characteristic of the man.

He was a Broad Churchman with High Church sympathies and tastes. He cordially disliked both Roman Catholics and Dissenters. Of the Roman Church he said, 'It is not that her doctrines do not contain the germs of truth, but that having based her system upon the profoundest truths, she has succeeded in making truth itself a lie.' Of Dr. Forsyth's *Religion in Recent Art* he says, in the most *borné* and prejudiced fashion, 'He is naturally somewhat in a fog, being a Dissenter'; whilst he himself shows an entire incapacity to understand Dr. Forsyth's position, as his correspondent, Mr. Macmillan, appears to have pointed out to him. A similar narrow

prejudice appears in his comments upon Damerle (one of the characters in *Blanche, Lady Falaise*), of whom he says, 'The real cause of his fall was that he was not a Churchman,' as if the errors into which Damerle is described as falling were not ten times as numerous in the Church of England as, for example, in the Society of Friends, which Shorthouse knew so well.

We have not space to notice in detail the papers which are contained in the second volume. Indeed, only one or two, such as that on 'The Platonism of Wordsworth' and a sketch of F. D. Maurice, appear to us to be noteworthy. Many of the essays are juvenile and crude, and interesting chiefly as illustrating the mental history of the writer. In some of them we are enabled to see how Shorthouse came to form the view of life that was characteristic of him, with its interwoven tissue of fancy and action, its note of half-observation, half-introspection, such as is constantly manifested in his writings. His own platonic cast of mind, deeply imbued, however, with Christian feeling, is visible throughout. In one place, speaking of spiritual vision, he says that the wonder is not that such vision should sometimes be vouchsafed to men, but that for the most part we see so little and observe so superficially. 'The whole of nature is ensouled. There is no such thing as matter, as material existence. Everything is instinct with the nature of God—or of the enemy of God.' Of *John Inglesant* he says, 'I undertook this impossible task, to produce a character which was to be despised by the one-sided, fanatic, enthusiastic portion of the world, and at the same time to show these people, by the simple working out of the character, without preaching it, that he was right and they were wrong. I doubt whether the most superhuman genius could perform such a feat.'

As he taught, so he lived. He had little in common with the prevailing political and commercial life of Birmingham, and perhaps the very reaction against much that was uncongenial around him unconsciously narrowed his sympathies in certain directions. But his was a spirit finely touched to fine issues, and a moral lesson of a high kind is conveyed in the power he showed of turning even imperfections and limitations, such as a painful impediment of speech and a more serious illness to which he was subject, as well as the very restrictions of business life, to the highest account. All students of *John Inglesant*—for, though the book is a story, many of its readers hold that it deserves study—will be thankful for the additional light shed upon the character and views of its author in these two carefully prepared volumes.

The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin. Now first printed in England from the full and authentic text. Edited, with a Biographical Preface and an Historical Account of Franklin's later Life, by William Macdonald. (J. M. Dent & Co.)

Few writings have had a more singular history than this notable *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*. It was commenced in 1771, during his second mission to England, and gives in sound and racy English a most interesting account of his early life and its struggles and difficulties down to the year 1730. Franklin sent the MS. to his son in America. In the confusion of the times this MS. fell into the hands of Mr. Abel James, a Pennsylvanian Quaker, who returned it to the author, then in France, with a request that he would continue it down to a later period and publish it. Urged by his friends, Franklin set about the task in 1784, but through pressure of business was able to add but little to the account. He resumed the work in 1788, and brought down the story of his life to the year 1757, but was not then able to continue it further. At his request, a copy was made by his grandson, W. Temple Franklin, and sent to his old friend, M. le Veillard. In 1817 that grandson published, along with Franklin's works and correspondence, what was regarded as the complete and authentic edition of the *Autobiography*. So things continued until 1867, when the Hon. John Bigelow, then American Ambassador to the French Court, purchased of the representatives of M. le Veillard what proved to be, not the above-mentioned copy as was expected, but Franklin's original MS., 'in his own handwriting, with all his own corrections, erasures, and marginal comments,' and containing, moreover, a further continuation written in the last year of his life, bringing the account down to the year 1762. It is from a copy of Mr. J. Bigelow's American edition that the *Autobiography* in this accurate and complete form is now first printed in England in this beautiful 'Temple' issue, to which Mr. W. Macdonald has contributed not only an illuminating preface, but also a valuable history of Franklin's later life down to its close in 1790.

Chatham. By Frederic Harrison. (Macmillan & Co. 2s. 6d.)

The story of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, is for his period synonymous with the history of England. Moreover, it is the story of England at the time when the foundation of the Empire was being laid. Mr. Frederic Harrison, of course, recognizes that quite

clearly. 'Chatham,' he says, 'changed the course of England's history.' 'The foundation of the Empire was the work of Chatham.' Mr. Harrison has his own ideas about the wisdom of that foundation; and though he strives hard, and to some extent successfully, to write without bias, yet it is open to question whether he is quite the man to write history, and, above all, to write the history of this particular period. He has not the necessary detachment of mind for impartial judgement, especially in matters of imperial policy. He makes the attempt conscientiously, and the result is a very valuable book. Nevertheless the reader gets the sensation that Mr. Harrison lacked enthusiasm for his task. There is a certain animation in the style, but there is also a perceptible lack of spontaneity. 'The letters of Pitt have always been regarded as stiff and awkward,' Mr. Harrison remarks. We are bound to say that in this matter the biographer's own style is not unlike Pitt's. Here is a sentence, for instance, which might have been expressed otherwise: 'A wild scramble ensued, delightfully and maliciously told by Horace Walpole, who quotes Addison's remark on Virgil, that "Pitt tossed about his dirt with an air of majesty."' But if Mr. Harrison has not Macaulay's style, he finds occasion at least once to correct Macaulay's history. And four times in fourteen pages he rounds off a paragraph by the statement that contemporary history, when ministers of State are concerned, is no better than it was in Pitt's day. The volume is the last in the 'Twelve English Statesmen' series.

The Living Wesley. By the Rev. James H. Rigg, D.D.
Third Edition. Revised throughout and enlarged.
(C. H. Kelly. 2s. 6d.)

'Indispensable for the understanding of John Wesley' is the succinct but significant note which follows the title of this book in the bibliography prefixed by Dr. Loofs to his fine article on 'Methodism' in the new edition of the standard German Encyclopaedia of Theology, best known to English students by the name of *Herzog*—its first editor. This judgement of one of the foremost ecclesiastical historians of our time exactly expresses our estimate of the value of this delightful volume, to which we are indebted for the dispersing of mists which long hid the real John Wesley from our view and still cause some of our contemporaries to misconceive his character and work. There are larger and more exhaustive biographies, but, after reading them, another glance at this clear and vivid portraiture of the living man is 'indispensable'

to an accurate knowledge of Wesley as a ritualist and mystic, as an evangelist, an organizer, and a thinker.

In this new edition the sketch of the 'progress of universal Methodism since the death of Wesley' has been brought up to date. The latest statistics are briefly summarized, and their significance is stated in a few crisp sentences. The venerable author's diamond jubilee as a Methodist preacher is approaching, but his mental eye is still quick to perceive the trend of modern movements, and his hand still deftly guides the pen of a ready writer. How judicial and moderate in tone is the statement: 'Taking all points into fair consideration, there is sufficient ground for concluding that the Methodist Churches of the world represent a larger aggregate of Christian organization than the Churches of any other Protestant denomination.' How radiant with the glow of justifiable pride in the Church to which he has rendered such conspicuous service are the words whose truth Dr. Rigg, in this book, has amply proved: 'With whatever abatements, and notwithstanding all imperfections, the Methodism of the world stands out in this post-centenary epoch after Wesley's death, as incomparably the most wonderful result which the world's history has shown as arising from the labours of any Christian leader, at least since the time of Luther.'

James Legge, Missionary and Scholar. By his Daughter, H. E. Legge. (Religious Tract Society. 3s. 6d.)

Dr. Legge laboured for thirty-three years in Malacca and Hong Kong, and for twenty-one years was Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford. His daughter describes his life as a missionary and his travel in China with much lively detail, and helps us to understand how greatly he was loved by the people. He studied China and its literature and religions with an eye made luminous by love. He felt that the missionary's task was to open the eyes of the heathen. Their ancient documents contain many noble truths, but these have been obscured and overlaid by an ever-increasing mass of superstitions and abominable idolatries. Dr. Legge often found it difficult 'to quell the thought that some demoniac agency has been at work egging men on until their religion has become an insult to the high and holy God.' This bright record of a noble and influential life will be eagerly welcomed.

Empire Builders: Pioneers of the King of Kings. By Various Writers. (Church Missionary Society. 1s. 6d.) The Empire Builders are missionaries in Africa, Persia, India, China, Japan, and

Canada. Their personal adventures are often thrilling, as in the story of the missionary who roused a lion with his cycle bell and swept past the formidable beast, who sprang aside at the critical moment. The revelation of the sorrows and needs of the world will come home to every reader of this touching and vivid record.

A History of the Ancient World. By G. S. Goodspeed, Professor of Ancient History in the University of Chicago. (A. Constable & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

A wide extension of our knowledge of the ancient world has taken place within the last fifty years. It amounts almost to a revolution. Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, early Greece as represented in Crete and Mycenae, have yielded up unexpected and almost bewildering treasures. These have revealed to us a new world, teeming with civilized life in and before the dawn of history. It is very desirable that the knowledge which thus far has been attainable only in expensive monographs should be systematized and brought within popular reach. The time has not yet come for doing this fully and completely, because research is still progressing, and it would be bold to prophesy what discoveries may startle the next half-century. But to a considerable extent the work of summarizing may be and has been attempted. Dr. Robinson Souttar's volume, entitled *A Short History of Ancient Peoples*, published a year or two ago, is a good example of what may be attempted in this direction.

Professor Goodspeed's history now before us aims at doing for the higher forms in schools and for young students generally what Dr. Souttar undertook for the general public. The ground covered in the two books is practically the same. The chief feature of the American work is the skill with which the material is prepared for use in teaching. The clearness of outline, the mnemonic devices, the numerous illustrations, the abundant and excellent maps, the charts and useful bibliographies, the synopses and lists of questions appended, all help very materially to give the comparatively uneducated learner the help he needs in mastering a quantity of complicated details. But the more advanced reader need not disdain the assistance thus given. The volume is not a cram-book, though by some it may be used for mere examination purposes. Professor Goodspeed furnishes a survey of a very wide area. To do that well requires accurate knowledge of detail combined with clearness of general perception. Only a master can depict accurately a wide landscape by a few lines and touches. And we are inclined

to think that many readers, besides the schoolboys known to Macaulay, who have all history at their finger-ends, will be thankful to Professor Goodspeed for having made the elementary study of ancient history so easy and pleasant.

The book is divided into three sections, which deal respectively with the Eastern Empires, Greece, and Rome. The first of these three is the most interesting, as dealing with the least familiar field. Unfortunately, it is also the shortest, extending to less than seventy pages. For practical purposes in schools, doubtless the study of the classical period is the more important, but if the author really aimed at giving a survey of ancient history, the proportion of space allotted to Babylonia, Egypt, Assyria, Media, and Persia should certainly have been longer. The Hebrews and Phoenicians demanded something better than the cursory treatment he has given them. The Code of Hammurabi, a full and interesting account of which is given, should not have been allowed to bulk so largely in proportion to the rest of the narrative. What is given, however, is good as far as it goes.

In dealing with the empires of Greece and Rome, the author's task is easier, as the ground has been so well trodden. His summary of classic story, of those momentous and thrilling events which have affected the course of the world's history far more than the rise and fall of all the Oriental empires, is carefully executed. The salient features are well presented, though of necessity in barest outline. The maps and illustrations which accompany the text are excellent, and will awaken interest and curiosity, which the student can further satisfy with the aid of the fuller textbooks named in the bibliographies. The volume as a whole furnishes a good specimen of American skill in labour-saving devices, but it would be a mistake to regard it as no more than this. It provides one of the best popular summaries of ancient history that have recently been published.

A History of Modern England. By Herbert Paul. Vol. iii.
(Macmillan & Co. Price 8s. 6d. net.)

The third volume of Mr. Paul's history opens with the formation of the Russell-Gladstone ministry in 1865, and takes us down to the Disraeli government of 1874. It is a comparatively brief period, but it includes events of no little moment in the social and political life of the country, such as the Reform Bill of 1867, passed by a Tory Government and described by Lord Derby as 'a leap in the dark,' the case of General Eyre, the rise of Fenianism, the growth

of Trades Unionism, Irish Disestablishment, and the climax of Liberalism in 1870. A historian dealing with events so recent is placed at a disadvantage, not only on account of the mass of materials at his disposal, but also because of the difficulty of forming adequate judgements in cases where the final issues have yet to be realized. But in Mr. Paul we have the happy combination of journalist and man of letters. He has the faculty of swiftly seizing the essentials of a situation and presenting it in a style that coruscates with brilliant epigrams and witty touches. If readableness be a *sine qua non* in modern history, here we have it in full measure. Nor in the important factor of political impartiality is Mr. Paul found wanting. He does not spare Mr. Gladstone's impetuosity, or the 'passionate prejudices,' as of 'a mediaeval monk,' which that great Churchman cherished in matters ecclesiastical; and he remarks of Disraeli that he could never be taken seriously by serious people. As an example of Mr. Paul's witty asides, we may quote his description of one of Mr. Gladstone's speeches at a public dinner in Liverpool: 'One of these spirited, fiery, pugnacious speeches so dear to the hearts of a friendly audience, especially when they have well dined'; or such a remark as this: 'There are men for whom the Church of England is too large, and others for whom it is too small. It was exactly the right size for Mr. Keble.' Sometimes he adopts a vein of rather cheap cynicism, as when he speaks of Moody and Sankey preaching 'what they called the gospel with more zeal than knowledge.' But while the narrative which deals with the course of British politics runs swiftly and is never dull, we confess that Mr. Paul's special gifts shine out most conspicuously in his characterizations of the leading figures in politics, literature, and theology. He has the power of saying the right thing in the happiest manner, especially when he is treating of letters. Ruskin's lectures, Jowett's *Plato*, George Eliot's *Middlemarch*, Matthew Arnold's *Literature and Dogma*, Rossetti's poems, Morley's *Voltaire*—all these and many other achievements in the literature of the day receive skilful and felicitous comment from his pen. When this history is completed—two other volumes have yet to be published—it will certainly take rank among the most attractive and permanently valuable contributions to the history of our times that have yet appeared.

The Historic Martyrs of the Primitive Church. By A. J. Mason, D.D. (Longmans. 10s. 6d. net.)

A volume dealing with the early martyrs has long been a want.

By the neglect of these priceless records the Protestant Church—which seems in these latter days to have ceased to read Foxe—has lost much both of inspiration for heroism and of materials for the reconstruction of the inner history of the first centuries. There are signs, however, of a new interest in these stories of the noble army of martyrs, the critical investigation of which, as Le Blant, Conybeare, and others have shown, will well repay the historical student. Unfortunately, the volume before us is not critical. It is written for the general reader, and, in accordance with current fashion, all notes are dismissed as a weariness to common flesh. The scaffolding used in the construction of the building has been cleared away, and we are presented only with the results. But, in the case of martyrology, the scaffolding is sometimes even of more importance than the results, as may be seen by those who follow Ramsay's and Conybeare's investigations into the story of Paul and Thekla, or who study the scattered notes on martyrology in Lightfoot's *Ignatius*. What the student desires is an indication of the evidence for, and the nature of, the genuine kernel which underlies the later growth of legend. The story of St. Alban, for instance, to take an instance near home: ought we to reject it as myth, as does Dr. Plummer, the learned editor of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, or ought we to accept it, with Dr. Mason, as in the main correct? And if the latter, what are the evidences, internal or external, that point to truth, what are the difficulties and anachronisms that must be cleared away? But for all this the student will turn to Dr. Mason in vain, who writes only, as he states, for 'the ordinary reader.' For such the book is of great value, though on the whole, even for them, it contains little save the story of Perpetua that may not be found in vol. i. of Foxe's wonderful *Acts and Monuments*. But the student will regret that Canon Mason has not given him more guidance, or written something of permanent historical worth. We have a right to expect more than the popular from the heads of Cambridge colleges, especially from one so qualified in every respect as Dr. Mason. And even for the general reader, to take two illustrations on page 10, which may serve for many, Clement of Alexandria should be quoted from the original, not from Eusebius, while for 'Ambrose' we should read Pseudo-Ambrose.

GENERAL.

In Peril of Change. Essays written in Time of Tranquillity.

By C. F. G. Masterman, M.A. (T. Fisher Unwin. 6s.)

SOME voices penetrate to the heart because they come from the heart. Mr. Masterman at least is not *vox et præterea nihil*. His readers may not agree with him—we do not, at half a hundred points—but they cannot deny that he looks upon life with his own eyes, and speaks, in moving words, thoughts which have been ‘felt along the pulses.’ He thinks—who does not?—that we are living in a period of rapid transition, and that the changes which will shortly come upon us will throw into the shade those not inconsiderable ones through which we have passed. Hence, in a time of peace, he seeks to prepare for war, by estimating the forces at work, and marking their tendencies and impulses. ‘To some the procession passes as a pageant, to others as a masquerade, to others, again, as a funeral march with the sound of solemn music.’ Mr. Masterman is one of the last class, and his pages contain far too much, for our taste, of the sound of those terrible muffled drums which iterate and reiterate woe in Handel’s ‘Dead March’ in *Saul*. Things have not quite come to the pass Mr. Masterman would have us believe; or rather, while some things have, others are very far from that gloomy condition, and for these he seems to have no eye nor ear.

None the less we have ‘optimists’ enough—save the mark; and a faithful witness, who will face facts fearlessly as he sees them, is a more wholesome companion than some who would entertain their friends with wine and song. He divides the papers here published into three parts, entitled ‘After the Reaction,’ ‘De Mortuis,’ and ‘Before the Dawn.’ In the first of these he prepares the way by describing the ‘reaction’ against a flowing tide of progress which marked the close of the nineteenth century. In the second he offers tributes to the memory of some who have departed—Henley, Myers, Shorthouse, Sidgwick, and others. These appreciations are cleverly written, and interesting to read, but the selection of names is not particularly significant or helpful to

the purpose of the book. In the third section we find the chapters which best bear out the title of the whole, and contain Mr. Masterman's chief message: 'The Burden of London,' 'The Making of the Superman,' 'The Religion of City,' and 'In Peril of Change' are the most characteristic.

All are powerfully written, and should give men 'furiously to think.' We do not ourselves believe for a moment that the religious condition of London is as desperate as Mr. Masterman would persuade us it is. We do not sympathize with his fierce denunciations of many types of workers who are trying to bring about an improvement. We think that there is far too much destructive criticism in this book, and far too little helpful constructiveness. And, so far as Mr. Masterman does reserve his confidence for one particular kind of religious effort, as the only one to be trusted, we cannot follow him. But, however inconsistent it may seem, we estimate highly the value of his contribution to the unravelment of our present perplexities. We find in his pages an honest endeavour to see things as they are, and to tolerate no sham remedies for real and terrible evils. Changes may or may not come in the form he anticipates, and some of us may think that he is hardly the leader we should choose in making ready for them. But none can deny his sincerity, his earnestness, or his power, and we heartily commend this book to all who are trying to discern the signs of the times, and are anxious to do their best to prepare the way of the Lord and make His paths straight.

The Great Religions of India. By the Rev. J. Murray Mitchell, M.A., LL.D. With Portrait and Map. (Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. 5s. net.)

This informing and most readable book contains the Duff Missionary Lectures delivered last year in Edinburgh and Glasgow. The venerable author, who was the lifelong friend of Dr. Duff, entered into rest last November in the ninetieth year of his age. The eighteen months during which this accomplished scholar and veteran missionary was almost exclusively occupied with the preparation of these lectures, was time well spent; they are an important contribution to the comparative study of religions, and are admirably fitted to promote the object of the lectureship, which was also the purpose of Dr. Murray Mitchell's devoted life—'the furtherance of the great cause of missions to the heathen.'

At the present day the danger is not that ethnic inspiration

should be undervalued, but that it should be overestimated. In the introductory lecture a middle position is assumed: 'Heathen religions . . . are not all equally dark; and all, or almost all, retain some elements of truth.' With candour but without prejudice, with fullness of knowledge but without any trace of exaggeration, Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Muhammadanism, and the religion of the wilder races are described. The author possesses the two essential qualifications for giving a true account of heathen systems; not only has he made a special study of sacred books, but he has a remarkably wide experience of the practical influence of these religions on the lives of their adherents.

Hasty conclusions are often drawn from the resemblances between Hinduism and Christianity. For example, the doctrine of the *Trimurti*, according to which the triad of gods, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, is 'after all a unity,' is shown to be out of harmony with proper Hinduism. This conception does not appear until two centuries after Christ, and it is 'very like the thought of Hindus who had heard of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, but whose ideas of it were shadowy and inexact.'

The lecture on 'Muhammadanism' contains information of the utmost value to statesmen and missionaries. Signs of unrest and agitation among Moslems in India are noted; education is leading men like Sir Sayad Ahmad to reject some of the teachings of the Qurân in spite of anathemas from Mecca. Given that Divine Providence will permit the British suzerainty to endure, and that Christian missionaries will pay greater and more sympathetic attention to Moslems, and Dr. Murray Mitchell sees good cause for being 'full of hope in regard to Indian Muhammadanism.'

These lectures are a storehouse of facts for advocates of foreign missions; better still, the facts are made luminous by one who has a well-earned right to appraise their value. The author dare not pronounce the day of India's conversion to be far off; he gives weighty reasons for believing that it 'will resemble that of the Roman Empire, in coming *suddenly*.' As an old Indian he gives a corrected version of well-known lines:

East is East, and West is West; and yet the twain shall meet,
And Eastern men join Western men in fellowship complete.'

Dr. Murray Mitchell's lectures can hardly fail to inspire their readers with his own hopeful anticipation of the 'day of days when East and West, that have been sundered for ages shall, with one heart, worship at the Father's footstool.'

The Ascending Cross. Some Results of Missions in Bible Lands. By the late Rev. W. A. Essery. (Religious Tract Society. 3s. 6d.)

The 'Bible Lands Missions' Aid Society' has no agents of its own. It collects funds to distribute amongst missionaries of other societies, and, for the most part, of another nation. Its late secretary has collected 'stories of help,' which show how much the B.L.M.A.S. has done, during the last fifty years, for 'the upraising of the Cross in those sacred lands ever beloved by the devout heart.' It is delightful to read this interesting record of the planting of evangelical churches 'from Northern Macedonia to Southern Egypt, from European Athens in the West to Persian Oroomiah in the East.' Valuable information, not otherwise easily accessible, is given concerning Christian missions in Turkey, Asia Minor, Arabia, &c.

The Young Preacher's Guide ; or, Secrets of Success in Sacred Oratory. By the Rev. Gilbert Monks. With Preface by the Archdeacon of London. (Elliot Stock. 7s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Monks has evidently kept a commonplace book of anecdotes and quotations, and has now emptied its copious contents into this volume. What could not be got into the text has been thrust in as footnotes on nearly every page. On a single page, taken quite at random, Thomas Browne, Balston, Balston's brother, the Bishop of Ripon, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir James FitzStephen, Herbert Spencer, Lord Melbourne, and Haydon are all paraded before the reader within thirty lines of print. And the print, moreover, is everywhere bestrewn with italics and capitals. There is a saying of Macaulay's which Mr. Monks' commonplace book apparently did not contain. We venture to supply the lack. 'Croker is below Southey ; for Southey had a good style, and Croker had nothing but italics and capitals as substitutes for eloquence and reason.' There is both eloquence and reason in Mr. Monks' book ; but he is below Southey all the same. His style is precisely Croker's. If the book could be filtered of nine-tenths of its epigrams, and of nearly all its quotations and anecdotes, and rewritten in a plain straightforward fashion, it would do good. As it stands, here is an average sample of its contents :

'Charles Lamb * [footnote quotes Haydon and Lemprière], we

are told, was wont to say grace before reading *Shakespeare* ! In other words, this delightful writer prefaced his study of our immortal dramatist with a pure act of devotion. Metaphorically speaking, *he went upon his knees*—he prayed ! Is it to be wondered at, therefore, that he became the most accomplished of Belles-lettres scholars, and sweetest of prose writers, in spite of the fact that he passed his life at the desk as a common clerk ?

Could anything be more offensive to any one who loves his Elia than the inaccuracy, the banality, and the complacent jauntiness of a passage such as that ? The one admirable thing in the book is its clear and concise list of chapter headings. The *format* also is excellent, but we note that a wrong headline has, by some inadvertence, got itself inserted on p. 111.

A History of Preaching, from the Apostolic Fathers to the Great Reformers, A.D. 70-1572. By Edwin Charles Dargan, D.D., LL.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d.)

Middle-aged, and even younger, readers of this REVIEW will have a remembrance of Broadus sufficiently respectful to give them at once an interest in the present volume when they learn that its author is the successor of Broadus in the Chair of Homiletics in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary of Louisville in Kentucky. The book, moreover, is dedicated to the 'cherished and revered memory' of Broadus, as 'a pupil's grateful offering.' It is the fruit of eleven years of study, and though incomplete (as the title indicates), is nevertheless of the sort commonly described as 'monumental.' It is a solid and conscientious piece of work, enriched by the results of original studies in European libraries, as well as of the writer's enthusiastic love of his theme. The fifteen centuries are divided into four periods, in which the undulations of successive rise and decline in preaching are exhibited. In spite of its great length (560 pages), the readableness of its style prevents it from becoming wearisome ; and a very good index gives access to its contents with regard to any particular person or period. When complete, and even in its present state, it will be a most valuable companion to current ecclesiastical histories. The four centuries yet to be dealt with are so rich in material that we shall look with pleasurable anticipation for the two further volumes, which will deal with modern European preaching, and preaching in the United States, respectively. Dr. Dargan has probably good reason for the

geographical division; otherwise we should have thought it more natural to continue the chronological method.

Studies in Homiletics. By Robert J. Wardell. (Charles H. Kelly. 2s. 6d.)

The preacher, like the poet, is born, not made. But the born preacher may develop his native aptitude by the study of good models and by the use of wise methods. Excellent methods of sermonizing are suggested by Mr. Wardell, and a specially praiseworthy feature of his most useful handbook is the furnishing of examples of results attained by the use of the methods recommended. How different are these fresh and forceful sermons, fully clothed in graceful language and palpitating with thoughts that breathe, from the skeletons which haunt the mind but depress the imagination of the student of many homiletical textbooks!

The plan of this work is original, and is admirably adapted to the needs of young preachers who are willing to take pains and to cultivate preaching as a fine art. Six different methods are lucidly expounded; thus the student learns the important truth that systems of homiletics are not intended to repress his individuality, but rather to afford scope for its expression. He sees how his treatment may vary in accordance with the subject of his discourse. But beginners need sermon stuff; the wise householder must import 'things new and old,' or he will not find them in his 'treasure' when he desires to bring them out. The teacher must be first a learner. Therefore, lists of books to be read follow the statement of each method; three or four sermons are then given as illustrations of each mode of construction. Of course, the man who works the machine counts for much, but Mr. Wardell's skill is shown in his successful attempt to show his readers 'how it is done.' The sermons 'have been *of set purpose* developed from germ thoughts that can be found contained in the books suggested to be read. The student may find scores of other seed thoughts in the same books and develop them in similar ways.'

On one point we differ from the author, who, in his modest Preface, expresses his fear that the 'experienced preacher' will regard the contents of this book as elementary and mechanical. Old hands may learn something new from it. But however this may be, we heartily commend to young preachers this most valuable addition to the much-valued series of 'Books for Bible Students.'

Every-day Evangelism. By Vallance C. Cook. (C. H. Kelly. Price 2s. 6d.)

At the first blush it might appear perilous for a comparatively young minister to undertake a ministerial autobiography recording personal experiences and incidents; but the egotism which not unfrequently marks the utterances of the successful evangelist is happily conspicuous by its absence in this volume. The spirit of the writer is devout and modest, and the narrative of his evangelistic work in the various circuits in which he has been stationed is not disfigured by any jarring phrases, or indeed anything contrary to a proper sense of humility. Mr. Cook's conception of evangelism is both broad and lofty, as demanding the best gifts of spirit and intellect, and utilizing every available agency—social, philanthropic, educational—for its great end; and he closes his book with a strong plea for a general revival of evangelistic zeal and power. As a record of practical experience, containing many striking facts, and not a few helpful hints, it merits hearty recognition from Christian workers, preachers, and others who are interested in the most fruitful methods of extending the kingdom of Christ.

Devotional Life in the Nineteenth Century. By the Rev. Charles Bodington, Canon Residentiary of Lichfield Cathedral. (S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d.)

In manifold forms of devotional life Canon Bodington recognizes the working of the same Spirit. The object of his book is to promote 'a true and lasting peace' within the Church of England; the means by which he seeks to attain this end is by showing how the Holy Spirit's voice found 'partial utterance in men of many schools of thought.' Types of the highest devotion are found in such evangelical leaders as Charles Simeon and Bishop Wilson; but of Father Dolling's flock we are told that they 'perfected their original evangelical belief by sacramental truth, and found its adequate expression in Catholic worship.' Our criticism on this eirenicon is that its main argument applies equally to Christians who are not members of the Church of England. To the famous statement of Cardinal Manning: 'The Anglican Church . . . is a human institution . . . without Priesthood, without Sacraments,' Canon Bodington replies: 'There is abundant evidence of the Divine Life of the Holy Spirit within the Body of Christ in the Church of England.' On such evidence other Churches humbly

yet confidently base their claim to be living members of the one body whose head is Christ.

The Quest of the Infinite. By B. A. Millard. (H. R. Allenson. 3s. 6d.)

The writer of this little volume undertakes to discover for the average man a substitute for Authority in matters of belief, and concludes that this is none other than personal experience. He maintains that this method—the earliest of Christian apologetics—is also the only adequate one for the modern consciousness. He excepts, indeed, the scholar and the theologian; but even for them the ultimate reason for faith rests in individual experience. Undoubtedly the trend of much of the Christian thought of the day is favourable to this position, which the writer argues out in a lucid manner and in an excellent, non-polemical spirit; but at the end we have a lurking feeling that he hardly realizes the full force of the objections that may be urged against the naked individualism of this basis from the side of those who recognize the majesty and compelling power of the catholic tradition. Nevertheless, as a popular and tentative contribution to the solution of a problem which perplexes many minds in this age of transition, the book may be heartily commended, and will find sympathetic readers.

Seven Supreme Poets. By Robert P. Downes, LL.D. (C. H. Kelly. 3s. 6d.)

Those who have had the advantage of a liberal education will best be able to appreciate the knowledge, judgement, and expository power which underlie these popular sketches; but those also for whom they are specially intended will appreciate the effort made in them to enable them to share the privilege of those who, by special study, have made themselves familiar with the genius, art, and teaching of the master minds among the poets of the world. Popular as they are in style and treatment, the sketches are by no means slight or superficial, but full of thought and learning and eloquence. Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, and Milton are set before us with a graphic pen; copious extracts from their works are given in illustration of their style and method; and no pains are spared to bring the general reader into fruitful contact with their mind and art. For intelligent young people, it would be difficult to find a more attractive and more helpful introduction to their works. The volume is beautifully bound in art linen, and is embellished by full-page portraits excel-

lently reproduced. It makes a handsome gift and prize book, and the substance of it is as choice and as attractive as the form.

Drawings of Sir Edward Burne-Jones. (George Newnes. 7s. 6d. net.)

A real insight into the craftsmanship of Burne-Jones may be gained from a study of this set of drawings. They are reproduced with a skill which sets off their rich detail and their delicate workmanship. Mr. T. Martin Wood says, in the critical sketch which is prefixed to the drawings, that throughout the artist's work 'a fire of conception is traceable that does not wane even in the slightest or the most matter-of-fact of his studies, and no painter perhaps has possessed in such a marked degree the power of infusing his sketches with so much of the meaning and of the spirit that haunt his finished paintings.' Nothing is left to suggestion. As the painter advanced towards perfection he grew less fond of simplicity, and filled up every space on his canvas with rich decoration. He knew how to give reality to the dreams of his fancy, so that those who gazed on them accepted them as matters of 'every-day.'

The Thomas Willshaw Theological Class and the Story of its Founder. By the Rev. Henry T. Hooper. (C. H. Kelly. 2s. 6d.)

Mr. Willshaw's Theological Class was born in 1855, and has met for fifty years without intermission in the busy city of Manchester. Its textbooks have been Watson's *Institutes*, Dr. Pope's *Compendium*, and Dr. Banks' *Manual of Christian Doctrine*. How it grew, how it has been carried on, what fruit it has borne, is here told in a way that will not only arrest attention, but will lead many to ask how far they can adapt Mr. Willshaw's methods to their own circle. The class has not only been a centre for study, but has also undertaken much fruitful home mission work. Mr. Willshaw died in 1901, but the class is still prospering under his successor, Mr. Huddleston, who is thoroughly versed in theology. The whole story is inspiring.

The Divine Travail in Nature, Man, and the Bible, as traced by Science and the Method of Christ. By John Coutts. (National Hygiene Co. 6s. net.)

This is the author's tenth book. There are more than five hundred closely printed pages of it, with no margin worth mention-

ing, no index, and no analysis. It is a deluge of words. A prisoner for the faith, one with a rather long sentence, might find it not unwelcome. For the rest of us, life is really too short. We think Mr. Coutts has something to say, and if he could have said it in more leisurely times he might perhaps have had a hearing.

The Four Socratic Dialogues of Plato. Translated by Benjamin Jowett. With a preface by Edward Caird, Master of Balliol College. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.)

A small and convenient republication of Jowett's famous Plato, as far as concerns the dialogues which most interest the modern reader, needs nothing more than announcement to commend it to all who love high thinking and splendid literature. Jowett is not perfect, but those who cannot hope to follow Plato's matchless dialogues in his own matchless language will not find any modern exponent compare with the famous Master of Balliol. Jowett's equally distinguished successor contributes a short prefatory note, and the little book, containing the *Euthyphro*, *Apology*, *Crito*, and *Phaedo*, with analyses and introductions, is got up as beautifully as the Clarendon Press can do it. We need say no more.

Root-Principles in Rational and Spiritual Things. By Thomas Child. (H. R. Allenson. 6d.) The author of this work examines and refutes the theory of the universe set forth in Haeckel's *Riddle*. His exposure of the weakness of Mr. M'Cabe's defence is thorough. We welcome Mr. Child as an ally in attacking a false philosophy, but differ widely from him in our theological point of view.

The Christ in Shakespeare. By Charles Ellis. (Houlston & Sons.) In an expressive mixed metaphor the author of this book states that 'the Bible is the armoury whence Shakespeare draws living shafts out of the fountain of living waters.' Extracts from plays and from sonnets are printed with their 'biblical harmonies' conveniently arranged on the opposite page. From the Bethnal Green Free Library copies may be had. (2s. 6d. post free.)

We have also Received—

A SERIES of 'Heart and Life Booklets' from Mr. H. R. Allenson, which will be welcomed by many. They are only sixpence each, with good paper and clear type. They include three sermons by Phillips Brooks, Browning's *Easter Day*, *Selections from Faber's Hymns*, F. W. Robertson's *Loneliness of Christ*, Dr. Newton Clarke's *Huxley and Phillips Brooks*.

Among the Sixpenny Reprints, issued by the same publisher, it is a pleasure to notice Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero Worship*, and a second volume of *Eleven Sermons*, by F. W. Robertson, both on good paper and in excellent type.

The Difficulties of Unbelief. By Innes B. Wane, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 4d.) The object of this pamphlet is to help those who find that the way of faith is 'hedged with difficulties.' It meets, in simple language, the objections most frequently urged against Theism and Christianity.

Collects (Selected). (Bemrose & Sons, Ltd. 6d.) A collect for every day in a month, taken usually from the Book of Common Prayer, but including one (on p. 53) which will serve by contrast to emphasize the chaste and simple beauty of the others. Useful for private prayer or to supplement the prayer at family worship.

Showers of Blessing: True Incidents of Christian Life and Work. By Mrs. Harding Kelly. (R.T.S. 1s. 6d.) A pleasant little book, suitable for reading at Mothers' Meetings or Bands of Hope.

Addresses delivered at the Bishop of London's Lenten Mission, and Religion in Relation to Social Duties and Pleasures. By Right Rev. A. F. Winnington Ingram, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 6d.)

For People who Laugh. A Collection of Stories and Poetry by Adair Welcker. (214 Pine Street, San Francisco.) The pieces are not greatly to our taste, though some of them are funny enough.

Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand, 1903. Vols. i., ii. (John Mackay. 1904.)

The Culture of Sweet Peas. By R. Dean, V.M.H., F.R.H.S. *Annals.* By T. W. Sanders, F.L.S. (Agricultural and Horticultural Association. Each 1d.)

Official Year-Book of the Church of England for 1905. (S.P.C.K. 3s.) This publication was founded in 1882 by Canon Burnside, a portrait of whom forms frontispiece of the present volume. It is full of valuable statistical information, showing the resources and the work of the Anglican Church in all parts of the world.

The Conscience. By Joseph and George Gowan. (Elliot Stock. 3d.) Attempts to show that conscience does not teach what is right and wrong in itself, but is emotional, and goads men to the right. The Bible is the guide in matters of conduct. The essay is suggestive, though we do not feel that it shakes Butler's position.

Bishop Gore and the Roman Catholic Claims. (Longmans. 6d.) A popular reply by the learned Benedictine of Erdington Abbey to the volume on the Roman Catholic Claims by the new Bishop of Birmingham which has recently been published in a sixpenny edition.

Periodical Literature.

IN this section it is not intended to attempt the impossible task of summarizing or reviewing the contents of even a portion of the numerous current reviews and magazines. But, in days when so much excellent work appears in ephemeral form, it is desired to draw the attention of our readers to selected articles which appear from time to time in periodicals sent to us for notice, as well as others which appear to be of general interest and importance.—ED.

BRITISH.

The Edinburgh Review (April-June).—In an article on *Earthquakes and the New Seismology*, the science of wave-transmission through the earth is treated with great fullness and detail. Vast stores of energy, it appears, are radiated outward in all directions from deep-buried regions of rock collapse. Earthquakes are a sign of planetary vitality. By its elasticity, the earth is kept habitable. Seismic thrillings are the vital breaths it draws. How all this is accomplished, and what beneficent purposes are served by these terrific and devastating catastrophes, is well brought out. *Three Phases of the Pastoral Sentiment* has no reference to the Christian ministry. It is a dissertation on pastoralism in art and poetry, in which this charming sentiment is traced from the sheepfolds of Bethlehem, through the romance-Arcadias of the Renaissance fiction and the artificialities of eighteenth-century affectation, until it 'retrieves its soul in Blake, and its heart in Segantini.' This great artist's picture, 'Love at the Fount of Life,' is fully described, and it is shown how fittingly 'the circle whose starting-point was the Incarnation of the Divine should end with the painter who achieved the Idealization of the Earth,' and 'the sentiment which found a place at the nativity of a new faith should find a last expression in the reverence of an old worship—the worship of the serenity, the repose, and the elemental spirituality of Nature.' The article on *Sainte-Beuve and the Romantics* describes the influence of the great critic as 'mild, insidious, furtive, and pervading.' That influence 'determined the second half of the nineteenth century in France.' To Taine he whispered that 'a man is the product of the race, climate, and civilization into which he is born.' To Renan he insinuated that 'there is nothing in the mind of man which the mind of man has not evoked and developed; that a religion is a growth like a plant, a natural phenomenon like a storm or a volcanic eruption.' The writer also traces Sainte-Beuve's influence on Hugo, Lamennais, Balzac, and George Sand.

The Quarterly (April-June) gives a careful estimate of Taine as a philosopher and as a critic. Few men, thinks Mr. Herbert Dodwell, have possessed 'an intellect so logical and acute, an imagination so vivid and consecutive, a sensibility so tender and refined.' His career is outlined, and his works, especially his *magnum opus*, *De l'Intelligence*, and his *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*, are pretty fully analysed and described. The latter is said to be 'not so much a series of aesthetic appreciations as a series of solutions to problems in applied psychology. It is really a history of the English spirit.' And throughout his work, he did not, like Sainte-Beuve, seek to determine the precise shades of individual genius, but to trace the broad lines of the development of the human spirit, and to analyse the forces which control and modify its development. In a paper on *Pearls and Parasites*, Mr. A. E. Shipley brings many facts to confirm the saying that 'the most beautiful pearl is but the brilliant sarcophagus of a worm.' Professor Herdman, who was called in to advise the Government, has discovered the larva around which, inside the oyster, these lovely ornaments deposit themselves, and much has been done to revive a very profitable industry. In thirty-eight days, no fewer than 41,000,000 oysters were taken in the pearl-fishery off the north-west coast of Ceylon; and on one day this year the Government's share of profits was £9,000. Students of Homer should by no means miss the learned and quite charming article on *The Wanderings of Odysseus*. It is easy to believe that 'no one can read *Les Phéniciens et l'Odysée*, by Victor Bérard—the book on which it is based—'without having his eyes opened to many things in Homer which he has missed before.' The article summarizes M. Bérard's contributions to the geography and history of the ancient Mediterranean, his theories respecting the Phoenicians, and his identification of Homeric sites. It also brings much independent judgement to the elucidation of obscure and still disputed points.

The Contemporary Review.—The controversy between Dr. Reich and Canon Cheyne still proceeds—the former accusing the Higher Critics of ignorance of the Old Testament, and the latter accusing his opponent of misunderstanding the nature, methods, and purpose of the Higher Criticism. There are three points on which (in the May number) Dr. Cheyne still differs from his 'respected opponent': (1) 'As to the meaning, methods, and conclusions of the Higher Criticism, and the necessary training of a biblical scholar; (2) as to the place which is due to psychological considerations in determining such a problem as the historical existence of the Moses of tradition; and (3) as to the historical inferences to be drawn from the border position of the land of Israel.' It is interesting to note that Dr. Cheyne refers to Dr. Bennett's article in Hastings's *Dictionary* as 'learned, cautious, and moderate.' In the same number there is a very remarkable article on *The Interpretation of Nature*, by Professor C. Lloyd Morgan, whose aim is to show that 'a belief in purpose as the causal reality of which Nature is an expression is not inconsistent with a full and whole-

hearted acceptance of the explanations of naturalism, within their appropriate sphere.' The article is intensely interesting, and constitutes a real and unusually important contribution to current thought on fundamental questions in religion and philosophy.

The two articles in the *Nineteenth Century* (March and April) by Mr. John Morley on *Democracy and Reaction* are much more than a résumé of Mr. Hobhouse's book, on which they are based. They are an independent study of society in its later forms and aims. Like Sir Henry Maine, he dwells upon the newness of democracy, and points out how very modern is the conviction which guides, inspires, and sustains it, 'the conviction of upward and onward progress in the destinies of mankind.' This conviction he regards as a superstition which often deepens into 'a kind of fatalism, radiant, confident, and infinitely hopeful, yet fatalism still, and, like fatalism in all its other forms, fraught with inevitable peril, first to the effective sense of individual responsibility, and then to the successful working of principles and institutions of which that responsibility is the vital sap.' Socialism he describes as 'subordination of individual energy and freedom, not merely to social ends, but to more or less rigorous social direction. . . . A harder, more unsympathetic, more mechanical conception of society has seldom been devised.'

The Fortnightly Review (May).—Taking as her text President Roosevelt's recent dictum that 'the prime duty of the woman is to be the mother, the housewife,' 'Lucas Malet' has many wise and pungent things to say on *The Threatened Re-subjection of Woman*. This brilliant writer is deeply in sympathy with the American President, and welcomes what she thinks to be signs of the passing of the Feminist Movement. She thinks that the majority of the young women who have affected to despise mankind and clamoured for the right to live their own lives, have simply been following the prevailing fashion, and that when the fashion changes their views of maternity and domesticity will change along with it. 'It is a characteristic of the feminine mind—a mind from the beginning somewhat perversely addicted to experiment—that complete liberty to act in a given manner takes away the desire so to act.' The movement has been confined almost exclusively to the middle classes, and has not been altogether evil. 'It has made the way of the girl who must earn her living easier both in opportunity and in social consideration. Motherhood and housewifery may once more become the object and the ideal. But the middle-class woman will approach them from a different level. . . . Never, unless she wills it, need she ever again decline to the level of a mere plaything, chattel, or squaw.'

The Independent Review (May).—Seeing that no one has ever made such a claim, it is a little superfluous in Mr. A. C. Pigou to demonstrate that *The Optimism of Browning and Meredith* 'fails to make good a claim to be considered a consistent, articulated whole.'

But one cannot read without instruction and delight the copious quotations by which this thesis is maintained; and it is worth while reproducing the four propositions discussed by the writer in examining and comparing 'the philosophic outlook implicit in Meredith's and Browning's poetry.' They admirably set forth the different opinions included under the ambiguous term optimism: '(1) That the total amount of good in the universe, either at present or on the whole, exceeds the total amount of evil; (2) that evil is subordinate to good, in the sense that all evil can be shown to conduce to some good result; (3) that good and evil are at present in conflict, but that evil will ultimately be overcome and disappear; (4) that the universe is completely good, and that evil is a mere illusionary appearance.'

The *Hibbert Journal* for April contains an array of articles interesting to students of philosophy and religion. The Bishop of Ripon contributes the first, on *The Education of a Minister of God*. The considerations he adduces are important for the few who can afford time to be scholars as well as ministers. He would have students trained to 'know their own times, to extend their study beyond the narrow limits of a few centuries, to explore the facts of religious consciousness in all systems and in all ages,' with more recommendations of a similar kind. The ideal is excellent, the broadening of the ideas of the average 'parson' is most desirable; but the Bishop hardly has his eye upon the facts—the knowledge of the average candidate for orders, the time allotted for his theological education, and the nature of his actual work. None the less, to proclaim ideals that cannot be fully realized is useful in raising the standard of the attainable. Mr. Mallock writes on *The Crux of Theism*. As usual, he is informing and unsatisfactory. His statement of problems is better than his suggestions for their solution. His repeated denunciations of 'the religious apologist' come ill from one who is never tired of asserting that the theistic position is capable of a better defence than they give, but who does not provide one. A somewhat more constructive article than the *Hibbert* usually provides is on *The Resurrection of our Lord*, by Rev. C. F. Nolloth. His criticism of the fashionable hypothesis of subjective visions is effective. He shows how this theory fails to explain the appearances of the risen Christ, and to account for the existence of the Christian Church. Two other interesting articles are, one on *The Historical Jesus and the Christ of Experience*, by 'Romanus,' and another on *The Religion of Rome*, by Miss Toker. The latter shows how the characteristics of religion in Italy have in some respects continued unchanged from the times of the early Roman monarchy, many of the features of paganism reappearing in Christianized forms. 'The religion of Latium and the religion of imperial Rome have set their indelible seal on Roman Christianity.' Not the least interesting feature of the *Hibbert Journal* is the forum for open discussion. In this number Professor Percy Gardner and Baron von Hügel continue an instructive examination into the validity of M. Loisy's type of Catholicism.

The Journal of Theological Studies (April) provides material for scholars only. Mr. C. H. Turner gives a full account of the *Lausiac History of Palladius*, that invaluable source of knowledge concerning early monasticism. It is to the labours of an English monk, Dom Cuthbert Butler, a Benedictine of Downside, that we owe a critical edition of the *Lausiac* history which has cleared up many standing problems. Full justice is done to his work in this article, which is, however, valuable in itself as a historical study. Mr. Barnes, in dealing with *The Gospel According to the Hebrews*, adduces arguments to show that there were three different documents all described by this name in ancient times; the first being identical with the Logia of St. Matthew, the second a fuller Syrian compilation, and the third a corrupt and heretical Ebionitic Gospel. A great deal of valuable work, which otherwise would never see the light, is put into the 'Notes and Studies' in this Review. For example, we may mention in this number Dr. Bigg's notes on the date and composition of the *Didaché*, and Mr. Barnes's discussion of the date of the Epistle of Jude. To our thinking the former is much more sound and convincing than the latter.

The Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review for April contains no fewer than seventeen items. The articles are consequently often far too short to deal adequately with such subjects as Maeterlinck's *Essays and Dramas*, *The Code of Hammurabi*, Professor Harnack and his *Work*, *The Colour Question in the United States*, and Professor Peake's *Job*. But we are bound to say that the writers make good use of the space allotted them, and in these days very few pages are supposed to suffice for the discussion of the most important topics. Various tastes are here catered for. In addition to the articles mentioned above, Mr. Bowran urges his plea for the Disestablishment of the Church, Mr. Wilson Eccles discusses Mark Rutherford, while Maxim Gorky receives attention, as well as Hawker of Morwenstow. A useful type of article is that which deals with the Ethiopian Church Movement in South Africa, under James Dwané, originally a Wesleyan native minister, a movement which has ended in the incorporation of the Dwanites into the Episcopal Church of South Africa. The confusion and mischief which have arisen out of the secessions and proselytism implied in this 'Ethiopian' movement are serious and little understood in this country.

The Dublin Review (April-June) celebrates the 'Don Quixote' tercentenary by analysing and appreciating the central character. The Knight of the Doleful Countenance has seldom met with a more skilful interpreter. The story is perceived to be, not a cynical satire on true chivalry and deeds of heroism, but a satire on a false literary form—'the absurd and extravagant romances of chivalry then in fashion.' The knight himself is 'a sublime and pathetic figure,' and the effect of the story of his disillusionment is tragic rather than comic. In this is seen the consummate art of Cervantes. In the whole range of literature

there is scarcely a character in which the two elements of humour and pathos are so subtly blended. The comparison made by the writer between Don Quixote and Hamlet and Pickwick is most suggestive, as is also his reference, in this connexion, to Colonel Newcome. The writer of the article on *The First Six Centuries and the Church of England* has not much difficulty in showing that most of the doctrines and practices usually called Catholic existed in full vigour during the period in question. And the writer of another article has evidently had a congenial and delightful task in describing, with the help of Dr. Flint's *Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum*, and Mr. F. Galton's *Sociological Papers*, the twofold office of *Philosophy: Queen and Handmaiden*. Her function as Queen is 'to direct and regulate all the arts and sciences which necessarily presuppose the truth of her first principles and conclusions as the guarantee of their own further investigation.' As a Handmaid to Religion, it is her function 'to demonstrate those verities presupposed by revelation; to illustrate supernatural truth by means of analogies and metaphors drawn from Nature; and to defend the dogmas of faith by weapons forged by dialectic from purely natural principles.'

The Interpreter for May maintains the standard of interest set in the early numbers of this new periodical. Professor Swete gives us what we may conceive to be a foretaste of his promised work on the Apocalypse, in *A Vision of the New Jerusalem*, being expository notes on Rev. xxi. 9-xxii. 5. He interprets the descent of the city out of heaven as one 'which is always occurring in the present life of the Church.' That this descent will find its consummation at the Coming of the Lord, and on the new earth after His Coming, is not doubtful; but the point of St. John's vision is that it has begun already.' The article is lit up by fine and suggestive touches. We had given Dr. Swete full credit for the scholarship he here displays, but hardly for so much spiritual imagination. Without this an interpreter of the Apocalypse is lost. Rev. J. F. Stenning shows how criticism makes clear certain passages in the life of David, as narrated in Samuel and Kings, which, in the story as it stands, are marked by discrepancies and difficulties. Two articles appear on the Ascension of Christ; one, by the editor, meets modern objections in a frank and helpful way. The magazine appears as if it had come to stay.

The issues of **The Expository Times** for April and May contain, in addition to the usual interesting notes by the editor, an article by Dr. Sanday, dealing with Dr. Marcus Dods's new book on the Bible. Its contents are commended, though the author of the Bampton Lectures on Inspiration evidently does not find them all that he would desire. Dr. Moffatt's literary illustrations of the Sermon on the Mount are most apt and interesting; this widely read scholar seems as thoroughly at home in *belles-lettres* as in technical German monographs on questions of biblical scholarship. Prebendary Whiteford publishes a sermon on

The Failings of Christian Students, in which he points out the dangers arising from a life of isolation, and the importance of a knowledge of the world, and interest in its pursuits and ways. We notice several articles by Wesleyan Methodist scholars. Dr. Findlay writes on *The Theology of St. John*; Dr. Banks reviews Zöckler's *Christian Ethics*; and Professor Tasker gives an interesting *résumé* of the article in the new *Herzog*, on Peter the Apostle, by Professor Sieffert.

The United Free Church Magazine (April and May) furnishes excellent portraits of the late Dr. Salmond and Professor Flint. The death of the former is a real loss to his own Church and to theological literature. The magazine is naturally occupied with the current stages of the Church controversy, the findings of the Elgin Commission, and the prospect of a settlement. But it furnishes also articles on *Fra Angelico*, *Luther's Second Appearance before the Diet of Worms*, and an interesting account of Dr. Whyte's Cassettes on the Makers of Scotland. Dr. Denney writes on *Sydney Smith*, and Professor Crum-Brown on *Science and Faith*. Lighter pieces are not wanting. A serial story of Disruption times by David Lyall is running its course through the year, and the whole bill of fare is skilfully compiled for U.F.C. readers and a Scotch constituency generally.

AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology (April) opens with an article of a very useful kind, entitled *Problems of New Testament Study*, by Professor E. D. Burton of Chicago. It contains no fresh research, but provides what is even more important for some readers, a survey of the chief results already attained by recent New Testament Criticism. The paper was originally read before the International Congress at St. Louis, and is evidently the work of a writer who is at the same time a competent scholar and a fair-minded man. It is impossible to summarize a summary, and we shall not attempt to do so. Professor Burton indicates, however, in a few sentences the general drift of his article when he points out the significant change that has taken place in New Testament study. It is no longer, he says, the interpretation of a body of sacred and authoritative literature, but an inquiry into the history of a great religious movement. That is to say, that formerly a student of the New Testament, when he had ascertained that the canon was duly established and the sacred text presented in its purest form, had nothing further to do rightly to understand and adequately to expound the meaning of inspired words. Now he is only called on to investigate certain literary documents and determine their bearing upon the historical origin of a religion called Christianity. Consequently one of the first questions he has to decide is whether the New Testament should be studied simply as a part of early Christian literature, or of early Church history. This change in point of view—not yet fully accomplished, but decidedly prevalent, so that those who occupy the

earlier position are counted old-fashioned—amounts to a revolution, the full scope of which is not as clearly recognized as it should be. Whilst due consideration is given to the claims of historical and literary criticism in the examination of the books of the New Testament, their sacred character and authority must not be forgotten or slighted, least of all by Christian believers.

Professor Burton is not an advanced critic, but he fearlessly describes the facts, and very instructive is the account he gives of them. Other chief articles in this number include *Literary Problems of the Balaam Story*—one of those futile discussions as to how certain chapters of the Old Testament are to be parcelled out between documents and correctors of documents and redactors—'with centric and eccentric scribbled o'er, cycle and epicycle, orb in orb'—which make us long for a Copernicus to sweep away these complex and interminable Ptolemaic theorizings. Dr. Whiton writes on *The God-Consciousness of Jesus*—a characteristic attempt to show that the 'divinity' of our Lord represents a state not yet attained, but perfectly attainable by His followers, the way not being 'broken by any impassable chasm intervening.' A writer on *Fatherhood and Forgiveness* reminds us of the arguments of Mr. Lidgett's Fernley Lecture, his conclusions being very similar. Professor Schiele, in discussing the authorship of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, shows himself to be one of the few disposed to follow Harnack's conjecture propounded in his *Probabilia*, attributing the Epistle to Prisca and her husband Aquila. The 'Reviews and Critical Notes' in this journal are, as usual, far from perfunctory, some of them constituting original articles of value. Subjects discussed in this number are 'The Eschatology of the New Testament,' 'The Eucharistic Offering in the Celtic Church,' and 'Modern Estimates of Jesus.' Professor M'Curdy criticizes somewhat severely Dr. A. B. Davidson's two works, posthumously published, on *Old Testament Theology and Prophecy*. His strictures do not so much concern Dr. Davidson himself, as the way in which matter which the author had not himself prepared for the press has been presented to the public, and by them accepted as his matured conclusions. Professor M'Curdy rightly says that Dr. Davidson's articles in Hastings's *Dictionary* best represent his ripest conclusions.

Bibliotheca Sacra.—The April number opens with a timely article on *The Consciousness of Christ the Key to Christianity*, by Dr. Dwight Mallory Pratt. 'The consciousness of Christians must rest upon and be enlightened by the consciousness of Jesus' is the thesis. Not what we think of Christ, but what He thinks of Himself must be the key to our knowledge. If the supernatural could be eliminated from Christianity, it would no longer be a revelation of redemption, but a system of ethics. Dr. John Bascom writes vigorously on *Economics and Ethics*; the propositions he expounds are that no economic law contradicts ethical law or escapes its control, and that in the growth of civil law, ethical principles are constantly gaining

better expression. Professor H. M. Whitney closes a series of tests of *Modern Translations of the Bible* by saying that 'they tend to put the generic for the specific, the abstract for the concrete, the literal for the figurative, the unimpassioned for the glowing.' Amongst the notices of recent publications is a eulogistic review of Dr. Tipple's volume, entitled *The Heart of Asbury's Journal*. Of the journal, which consists of the briefest notes, made day by day, it is said: 'Nothing can be recommended to strengthen the moral fibre of the present generation more adapted to the purpose than this straightforward diary.'

Two numbers of *The Methodist Review* (New York) are before us, those for March-April and for May-June. They contain theological and general articles of varying quality. Bishop Warren writes on America as a world-power with a rhetorical exuberance which would raise a smile on this side of the Atlantic. But his figures are striking, and his conclusions deserve the attention of his fellow-countrymen. Professor Terry furnishes an appreciation of H. B. Ridgeway, a saintly man, best known in this country as the biographer of Alfred Cookman. Bishop Thoburn pleads for missionary reorganization in a fashion which will startle good conservatives. But the work of the Board of Missions in the Methodist Episcopal Church is so extensive and so rapidly advancing, that perpetual improvement in methods of administration must be effected, if such widely ramifying operations are to be effectively carried out. An interesting paper in the May number is that of Dr. C. J. Little, who exhibits a natural anxiety concerning *The Seat of Authority in the Science of Theology*, though he does not make it clear what remedy he proposes for evils caused by existing unsettlement of beliefs. Professor H. C. Sheldon writes an able paper on the question of *Biblical Criticism in the Roman Catholic Church*, chiefly as raised by M. Loisy. A layman, Mr. R. T. Miller, discusses the exact nature of Episcopacy in the Methodist Episcopal Church as understood at the time of its institution. He adduces a number of interesting historical facts, and seeks to prove that the Methodist Episcopacy should not be considered 'merely an office,' but the last and highest of three distinct 'orders' of an ordained Christian ministry. We do not know how far the views of this writer are accepted by the authorities of his own Church to-day, but we should probably not be far from the mark if we said that in this country hardly any one, and in the United States very few, have an intelligent understanding of the relation between the bishops recognized by Methodists and 'the historic episcopate.' Another article deals with the late H. P. Hughes as a typical example of 'the new evangelism.'

The Methodist Quarterly Review (Nashville, Tenn.) represents the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and is edited by Dr. Tigert. Its April number contains twelve articles, of which the following are specimens:—*Wernle's Beginnings of Christianity*, by F. H. Wallace; *Catholicism*, by G. B. Winton; *Unwise Concessions to Free Thinking*, by F. M. Edwards; and *St. Paul in Athens*. Bishop

Fitzgerald pays a pious tribute to the memory of 'the first native American Methodist bishop,' William M'Kendree. Bishop Hendrix's *Quillian Lectures on the Personality of the Holy Spirit* are sympathetically reviewed; and Dr. Tigert writes on *The Vocation of Jesus the Proof of His Godhead*. Dr. James Mudge contributes a characteristic article on *Saintliness*, in which he enumerates seven characteristics of the true saint. The strict application of these tests would make short work with some ostentatious professors of 'holiness' in the United States, both North and South! We are glad to observe amongst the reviews a cordial appreciation of the *Cole Lectures on the Christian Character*, recently delivered by Rev. James Chapman of Southlands College.

The Methodist Magazine and Review (Toronto) is more of a magazine than a review. It admits pictures—freely, and of all kinds. Hardly a single article in it is of the review type, unless it be an interesting one by Dr. Eby, a Canadian missionary in Japan, who unfolds the new problem in missions created by the development of Japan and her influence on China. The popular character of this magazine being understood, it may be highly commended as bright, attractive, and well edited.

The chief articles in **The Baptist Review and Expositor** (Louisville, Kentucky) for April are on *The Baptist Position for Today*, *The Early Success of Calvinism*, and *The Scottish Church Case*, by Professor Orr of Glasgow. The Baptist position is significantly declared to be summed up in the words, 'The Lordship of Christ and the Loyalty of Christians,' and the whole article shows that the Baptists of America exhibit greater breadth of Christian sympathy than their ancestors on either side of the Atlantic. Dr. George Cross gives an admirable explanation of the rise and early succession of Calvinism, but he says nothing of the causes of its decline and comparative decay. A practical and lively article, furnished with a cumbrous title, discusses *The Pastor leading his Teachers in the Study of Pedagogy*. The 'Seven Laws of Teaching' quoted in it contains truisms which, if they were once fairly grasped and put in practice, would revolutionize many Sunday schools. The art of teaching needs to be understood both by pastors and teachers in England, as well as in America.

In the **North American Review** for April, Professor Hyslop discusses the *Immortality of the Soul* in the light of modern investigation. The Christian doctrine of our Lord's resurrection, he contends, has been distorted by Greek philosophy. The primitive Christians, according to the philosophy of the time, believed in an 'ethereal' matter, and their doctrine of the resurrection is much more in harmony with recent discoveries and theories as to the nature of matter. At all events, the question, he thinks, is one entirely for science, and the evidence, he holds, points to the reality of 'sensible existence' beyond the grave.

In the same number, Mark Twain has a Teufelsdröckhian article on *The Tsar's Soliloquy*, based upon a statement in the *Times* to the effect that it is his habit to meditate an hour before dressing. Standing before the pier-glass, the emperor is represented as reflecting that, without his clothes, he would be as destitute of authority as any other man in a similar condition. He then asks, 'Who is the real Emperor of Russia? My clothes. There is no other.' The conclusion of the whole matter is that 'there is but one restorative—clothes! Heaven's kindest gift to man, his only protection against finding himself out; they deceive him; they confer dignity upon him; without them he has none. Mine are able to expand a human cypher into a globe-shadowing portent; they can command the respect of the whole world—including my own, which is fading. I will put them on.'

FOREIGN.

Theologische Rundschau.—To the April and May numbers of this magazine Dr. Eberhard Vischer of Basle contributes two valuable articles on *Jesus and Paul*; the copious literature on this subject is carefully reviewed, and the contributions made by recent writers to the discussion of the important questions involved are appraised with sound critical judgement.

It is an old problem, to which modern investigations into the sources of New Testament doctrine have given special prominence. Attentive Bible readers soon discover that doctrines which Paul places in the foreground occupy little space, or are not found at all, in the discourses of Jesus; and on the other hand, that important aspects of our Lord's teaching are kept in the background by the apostle. It is not reasonable to expect that the apostle will always speak like his Lord; but when this is granted, the question still remains: Does Paul speak like a disciple who understood Jesus and His gospel? Lagarde is of opinion that science cannot build a bridge which will span the gulf between Paul and Jesus; on the contrary, Wellhausen affirms that 'Paul both understood the gospel and enunciated its consequences'; whilst Harnack adopts this statement, with a not insignificant change, and declares that 'Paul understood the Master and continued His work.' Obviously no Christian can be indifferent to the issues raised, when it is asked: Did Paul merely deliver that which he had received, drawing the necessary inferences from the teaching of Christ, or does he proclaim a new doctrine, and thus become entitled to rank as the second founder of Christianity? These alternatives are, of course, not mutually exclusive, for Paul expounded divine truth in words which the Holy Spirit taught.

Dr. Vischer directs attention to the gain resulting from the general agreement of scholars in regard to the genuineness of most of the Pauline Epistles, and to the truth of Deissmann's words: 'Paul is one of the few men of the Roman Empire whom we really know.' He reminds those who dwell too exclusively on the differences between the

Epistles and the Gospels, that Paul wrote to churches familiar with the main facts of the evangelistic tradition, and that, in all probability, his own preaching contained more references to the life and words of Jesus than his letters. The judgement on Feine's book on this subject is that his thorough investigation shows how many points of contact there are between Jesus and Paul; but too much anxiety is displayed to discover resemblances in details, and even to find the germ of what is manifestly Pauline in some word of Jesus. Deissmann's pithy saying, which touches the heart of the problem, is quoted with approval: 'Paul is not the second to Jesus, but the first in Christ.' The glorified Saviour is, indeed, the centre of Pauline doctrine; but for this very reason the earthly life of Jesus had significance for Paul: 'it furnished the glorified Lord with personal traits revealed in His earthly life—a sure safeguard against excesses of religious imagination.' Dr. Vischer regards the epoch-making character of Paul's work as consisting in his laying firmly and well the foundations of organized Christianity; he is not, however, the father of Christianity—only its prophet and its propagator.

Resch, the well-known writer on the unwritten sayings of Jesus, has published a large work on *Paulinism and the Logia of Jesus*. It is conjectured that in Arabia Paul was studying a copy of the *Logia*, lent to him by Ananias, and that henceforth Paul became 'the exegete of the teaching and the life of his Lord.' With enormous labour Resch has collected a mass of material, but he is so enamoured of his theory as to be content with slender proof. He believes that Paul alludes to all our Lord's parables except eight minor ones. Dr. Vischer shows plainly that the evidence is far from convincing: 'Acquaintance with the parable of the Good Samaritan is assumed on the ground of a supposed allusion to it in the Epistle to Philemon, and acquaintance with the parable of the lost piece of silver on the ground that Paul uses the word *συγχαίρειν* ("rejoice with me").' Resch also strives to account for the Pauline character of Luke's Gospel by the supposition that one of the evangelist's sources was the *Logia* document, with which he thinks Paul was familiar; but all the facts adduced may be used to support the older theory, which finds in Luke's Gospel traces of the strong personal influence of Paul upon its author's mind.

Of recent writers who emphasize the difference between the teaching of Jesus and the doctrine of Paul, Wernle is the most prominent. He regards Pauline theology as something new; its roots are found neither in the sayings of Jesus nor in Jewish writings, but in the apostle's vision of Christ, and in the felt need of an apologetic. Dr. Vischer holds that Wernle's own admissions are sometimes inconsistent with his main contention. Certainly it is not easy to reconcile Wernle's denial of Paul's dependence on the historic Jesus with his assertion that Paul was attracted by Jesus as He was reflected in the lives of His persecuted disciples. Dr. Vischer is right in saying that these disciples must have borne witness both to the words and works of Jesus. These most instructive articles close with the reminder that from the Gospels

themselves we learn both that Jesus claimed to be the Messiah and that He foretold His own sufferings and death ; it is, therefore, evident that 'an elaborate Christology is quite consistent with a vivid realization of the historic Jesus.'

Theologische Literaturzeitung. — A review which casts interesting light upon the present condition of Protestant theology on the Continent is contributed (May 13) by Professor Lobstein of Strasburg. *Introduction à l'Étude de la Théologie Protestante*, by Professor Louis Emery, is described as a handsome volume of more than seven hundred pages. Its author is the Professor of Theology in the University of Lausanne. To determine the nature and the task of theology, he holds that it is essential to begin, not with the existence of the Church, like Schleiermacher, but with the fact of religion. 'Déterminer la nature de cette vraie religion et les moyens d'y amener tous les hommes, telle est la noble et difficile mission de la théologie.' Accordingly, theology is simply but comprehensively defined as 'the science of true religion.' Working from this centre, Professor Emery gives a high place to the Psychology of Religion amongst auxiliary sciences, but rightly refuses to regard it as a branch of theological study. Lobstein traces the influence of Rothe in the statement to which he properly takes exception that 'ethics is the chief department of theology.' When ethics is made to include right relation to God as well as to man, it must rest upon foundations firmly laid in apologetic and dogmatic theology. The highest praise is given to Part II., which is entitled: 'Les Conditions de l'Étude de la Théologie.' The transference of Hebrew from the theological to the philosophical faculty is advocated ; it is also urged that the time has come for diminishing the number of subjects included in the curriculum of the average student of theology. In some cases the time given to acquiring an elementary knowledge of Hebrew might with advantage be devoted to 'the historic, aesthetic, and religious study of the Old Testament.' The same problem presents itself in England, and a solution is being found by adopting the plan recommended by this Swiss theologian, and approved by the German scholar who reviews his book. Lobstein is not satisfied with the *Index Bibliographique*, but he expresses hearty approval of the qualities of mind revealed by the author's method of stating and discussing the problems of faith : 'Thoroughness of scientific knowledge, rich religious experience, fine psychological perception, theological breadth and prudence,' fit Professor Emery to guide the thought of earnest students of theology.

In the same number of this journal the editor, Dr. Schürer, speaks in warm appreciation of an exceedingly useful and cheap series, which deserves to be known in England. Messrs. Marcus & Weber of Bonn are publishing, under the editorship of Hans Lietzmann, *Short Texts for Theological Lectures*. For 3d. or 4d. it is possible to procure a critical edition of the text of the *Didaché* (No. 6), the most important of the *Apocryphal Gospels* (No. 8), the *Agrapha*, including the new

Oxyrhynchus Logia (No. 11), the apocryphal Epistles of Paul to the *Laodiceans* and to the *Corinthians* (No. 12), five of Augustine's *Sermons on Festivals* (No. 13), &c.

The February number of *Preuschen's N.T. Zeitschrift* opens with a long and elaborate article by E. Schürer on the seven days' week in the practice of the early Christian Church. Starting from one or two New Testament passages, like Acts xx. 7 and 1 Cor. xvi. 2, Schürer proceeds to examine the Jewish usage, in which at first the days were always known by their numbers, except the Friday ('Preparation') and, of course, the Sabbath. He shows that early Christian usage mostly kept up the same system, except that the first day has a new name, 'the Lord's Day.' Meanwhile there was coming in from the East the astrological practice of attaching the 'seven planets' to days of the week; and the day of Saturn became identified with the Sabbath. But the origin of the week itself and the grounds of this connexion remain to a large extent dark. The Romans had an eight-day week, which, however, was gradually invaded by that of seven days, apparently under the influence of astrology. Christianity naturally rebelled against accepting this week, and the Christian leaders, if they referred to 'the day of the Sun,' or 'the day of Venus,' manifestly did it under protest. But usage was too strong for them, and at last we find them making virtue of necessity, and expounding how the planets, the influence of which over human lives earlier Christian writers scornfully repudiated, were appointed by God to reveal human destinies. The surrender was complete, and our modern names for the days of the week descend from a translation of the heathen Roman titles, adopted in German lands before their conversion, and taken over by the Church without any protest that has left its record behind. Supplementary discussions deal with the astrology more in detail. The paper, despite its great length (sixty-six pages), leaves a good many questions untouched, but is a very interesting and, of course, most learned examination of a problem which few could tackle as Schürer can. There follows a short paper by Harnack on the origin of the so-called Second Epistle of Clement, and one by G. Krüger on the relation of the baptismal creed of the Roman Church to the controversy with Marcion. English readers will observe with pleasure twenty pages of their own language, in a paper by Mr. G. H. Box on the Gospel narratives of the Nativity. He discusses Usener's astonishing theory that Matthew's narrative (chaps. i. and ii.) is to be traced to a purely pagan origin—a thesis supported by Schmiedel in a companion article of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, and by Soltau in his recent book on *The Birth of Jesus Christ*. Mr. Box examines Matthew first, and brings out well the fact that, whether history or romance, it is Jewish to the core, as well as an integral part of the First Gospel. It is, moreover, largely dominated by the methods of Jewish 'Midrash.' The genealogy, for example, is 'a sort of midrashic commentary, in genealogical terms, on the real genealogy, which is more correctly preserved in the Third Gospel.' The Jewish calumnies regarding the birth of Jesus are thrown

back on their authors by the mention of the women, aliens or undesirables, whose names figured in the ancestry of the royal house of Judah. It is impossible to summarize further this acute and helpful paper. Its conclusion is that the fashionable interpretation of the Virgin Birth as an adaptation of pagan ideas² is utterly inconsistent with the whole character of the documents in question. Whatever view of the problem we hold, we shall get no light in this way, and the story must be a purely Jewish myth, if myth it be. Such a statement undeniably clears the ground for the further investigation of this great question.

The publishers of this invaluable *Zeitschrift* are sending to all who apply a most useful specimen of the present issue, containing 32 pages selected from the articles sketched above, and a table of contents of the five volumes already published. We strongly advise students to procure this *Probe-Heft* from Messrs. Williams & Norgate, whether or no they are further tempted to spend 10s. a year on future issues of the Journal.

The current number of the Journal of the German Oriental Society ('Z.D.M.G.') has a short article by Oestrup on Matthew vii. 6. He points out that the not very obvious figure of giving pearls to swine has never hitherto been adequately illustrated; and, by sundry proverbial phrases from Arabic and other sources, he shows that giving pearls as fodder was a proverb either for reckless extravagance or for something in itself incredible. The swine which 'turn and rend' seems also to come from an atmosphere of popular fable. The writer quotes a suggestion from Halévy, that it may have been a Rabbinic saying against giving the heathen the privileges which Israel should keep to itself.

The *Revue de Deux Mondes* (March 15) has a valuable article by Professor Grasset on *Le Psychisme Inférieure*, based on the works of Pierre Janet and the late F. W. H. Myers, but dealing with the established phenomena of somnambulism, hypnotism, and spiritualism in a fresh and independent manner. The lower psychical centres, like the higher, are, he thinks it proved, capable of receiving impressions (sensations and images); they have memory; they associate ideas and images, compare, judge, and even imagine; they intervene in artistic and literary production, in volition and action; but that which distinguishes the activities of these lower centres from those of the higher is that they are involuntary, automatic, unconscious, and irresponsible. The article is full of facts, and contains an admirable digest of the literature of the subject.

